Adult Education in the Federal Republic of Germany: Scholarly Approaches and Professional Practice

Edited by Wilhelm Mader
Translation by Martin G. Haindorff

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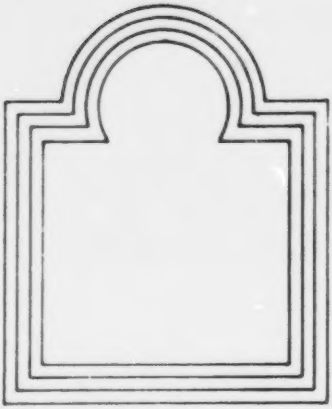

MONOGRAPHS ON COMPARATIVE AND AREA STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Jindra Kulich, General Editor

CENTRE FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
in co-operation with
THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Adult Education in the Federal Republic of Germany: Scholarly Approaches and Professional Practice

Edited by Wilhelm Mader
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Preface

Interest in the comparative study of adult education has been growing in many parts of the world since the first conference on comparative adult education held at Exeter, U.S.A. in 1966. This interest was given further impetus by meetings held at Pugwash, Canada in 1970, Nordborg, Denmark in 1972, Nairobi, Kenya in 1975, Oxford, England in 1987, Rome, Italy in 1988 and Ibadan, Nigeria in 1991.

A number of international organizations, among those Unesco, the International Bureau of Education, the International Congress of University Adult Education, the European Bureau of Adult Education, O.E.C.D., the (now defunct) European Centre for Leisure and Education, the Council of Europe, and the International Council for Adult Education have contributed their share.

A growing number of universities in all five continents established courses in comparative adult education. Many other universities encourage students to deal with comparative study or with the study of adult education abroad in major papers and theses. The literature in this area has increased considerably since the early 1960s both in support and as a result of this university activity. A number of valuable bibliographies were published, cataloguing the growing wealth of materials available in a number of languages.

Most of the literature available on adult education in various countries can still be found primarily in articles scattered throughout adult education and social science journals. Until a few years ago there was no commercial publisher enticing researchers to submit manuscripts of monographs dealing with comparative and case studies of adult education in various countries, even though the need for such a publishing venture was stressed at a number of international meetings. It was with the intent to provide such service to the discipline and the field of adult education that the Centre for Continuing Education at The University of British Columbia, in cooperation with the International Council for Adult Education, decided in 1977 to publish a series of Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education.

In 1984 a major English publishing house in the field of education, Croom Helm, decided to establish a new series, the Croom Helm Series in International Adult Education. Dr. Peter Jarvis of the University of Surrey, an internationally recognized scholar and noted promoter of publishing in international adult education, was appointed editor of this new series. A number of volumes have been published in this series since 1984 and have enriched the literature in this important field. The series has been taken over by Routledge and is now published as International Perspectives on Adult and Continuing Education.

One of the major deficits in English-language publishing on adult education is the dearth of materials translated from other languages. This makes much of the significant work of our colleagues who work in languages other than English inaccessible to all but a handful of adult education researchers and practitioners in the English-speaking world. We have attempted in a small way in this series of monographs to contribute towards filling this gap in the literature of adult education.

We are now pleased to bring out as the seventeenth volume in the series *Adult Education in the Federal Republic of Germany: Scholarly Approaches and Professional Practice*, prepared by the faculty members in the Department of Adult Education at the University of Bremen, edited by Wilhelm Mader and very ably translated by Martin Haindorff. This volume offers the English-speaking reader an important opportunity of insight into the development of the conceptual basis, scholarly inquiry and professional practice of adult education in West Germany from the end of the Second World War to the recent German unification. It supplements information contained in a previous volume in this series, *Adult Education in Federal Republic of Germany* by Joachim H. Knoll (1981), and in *Adult Education in West Germany in Case Studies*, edited by Jost Reischmann and published by Peter Lang (1988).

We hope that this joint effort between the University of Bremen and The University of British Columbia might spur on further translations and publishing, not only from the German language.

Jindra Kulich
General Editor

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Adult Education in the Federal Republic of Germany: Scholarly Approaches and Professional Practice

Introduction

Wilhelm Mader

It was in 1969 that a formal degree program in adult education was established in the Federal Republic of Germany, thus providing for a professional training in the field of adult education practice leading to a *Diplom*. The necessity for the development of a "science of adult education" with its own profile and delineation, independent of any other studies, arose only after such a university study course had been established, although the theory and practice of adult education had, of course, been the subject of scholarly studies long before within the earlier departments of pedagogy, psychology, or sociology. However, no independent field of adult education had sprung form them. Indeed, in Germany the first university courses for adult education were introduced decades after a long history of practical adult education, and prior to the development of any true science of adult education. The development towards a "science" and the professional training for adult education accordingly went on simultaneously.

Twenty years after laborious endeavours to establish a science of adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany, scholars and experts of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* (German Association for Education Science) ventured a diagnosis of the actual situation (1988): *"A first close look at our novel discipline seems to reveal that it has incurred the virus of "atomization" or not to have grown out of fragmentation at all. Connections are barely visible. Is this drifting apart the expression of individual self-assertion at privileged university posts including competition among scholars and scientists? Or is it rather a sign of creative pluralism? What would be the conditions and reasons for a collaborative progress in our field?"* (Gieseke et al.,1989:1).

Faced with such a diagnosis, the question which the contributors sought to answer was *whether the development of adult education as a field of social practice on the one hand, as a field of scholarly research and theory on the other, can effectively be described only by the variety of ideas and the plurality of practice*. Certainly, the essays presented in this volume do not give unequivocal answers and evidence once more the fragmented developments in the past history of the Federal Republic of Germany, but they do look purposefully for continuities among discontinuities, for structures among fragments, for signposts on the educational landscape.

The idea for such a collective publication was suggested in connection with the editor's research stay at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, in 1986. The common view, based upon the experiences of many a colleague, was that German educationalists publish little in English, and English-speaking scholars seldom refer to the German literature of the field. Not much is known at American or Canadian colleges and universities about the current status of adult education in Germany, but much more — and in English language — about developments in other European countries (cf. Charters & Siddiqui, 1989). What with the close ties of education with its application, there was, moreover, little incentive for research studies to look beyond the confines of one's own educational practice. This situation, with its inherent provincialism, must be changed without, of course, giving up the requisite of adult education practice within the discipline itself.

It seemed reasonable and helpful to consolidate and present to English-speaking readers historical and systematic information about developments in recent decades of adult education as a scholarly discipline in the Federal Republic of Germany.

A key question was, for instance: What ought an interested or critical reader in the United States, in Canada, or in Great Britain to know about the development and current status of "scientific" adult education in Germany. What would we like him to ponder from our perspective?

For this reason each essay has tried to trace and capture both historical developments from the vantage-point of just one specific approach and to limit the subject to the establishment of an adult education science in the Germany of the past decades.

Those of us in the department of adult education who initiated the discussion of this project in 1988, could not know that — after October 3, 1990 — there would be no longer a Federal Republic of Germany in the old sense, and that conditions would change rather quickly. The book marks both the end of the old republic bounded by its history and the structures from which new developments will have to take off. It might encapsulate historical self-ascertainment, the gathering of reason in the face of the winds of change. What direction the theory and practice of adult education will take under the conditions of a unified Germany with her split history and structure — including those of adult education — is unforeseeable yet tied to its West-German heritage; this was reason enough to publish the book in German as well, without the Appendix written especially for non-German readers.

As regards the English edition, attention should be drawn to a completely different book edited by Jost Reischmann in 1988, a valuable collection of case studies with factual information for English-speaking readers about a wide range of adult education institutes and institutions.

We ourselves have been guided mainly by two views which, during the discussions of the initial manuscripts, lead to the consensus of matching historical with theoretical aspects, of letting the authors explicitly wear their rose-coloured glasses:

(1) The establishment, since 1969, of a university training for adult education aiming at a scholarly foundation for a professional performance, created a fundamental tension between the "science" of adult education and the practice of it. In comparison with other countries it is certainly true of the Federal Republic that adult education has lost the character of a practice close to political and societal movements. It must live with the intended and unintended consequences of having become institutionalized, obliging it constantly to bridge the gap between a field of practice under pressure to act and a "science" requiring time for reflection. The overcoming of this tension is neither to be expected nor desirable. It is its inherent critical potential.

(2) During the past ten years there has been a shift *within* various fields of application and the *relation* to training hardly anticipated in the seventies. The definite gain in importance of adult education for highly industrialized societies corresponds with an equally unmistakable shift of training activities towards industrial and occupational further training, with the side-effect of relativizing pedagogical and social science approaches to the professionalization efforts undertaken by universities. One outcome was that research and practice drifted further apart before any true linkage could take place.

In view of this assessment it seemed reasonable to the Bremen staff to re-view and re-collect the educational gleanings of well-trodden paths. Not window dressing but the testing of foundations and cornerstones, without which the construction of a science of adult education cannot be carried on, was the ulterior motive, explaining the possibly trite and well-known titles of some contributions characterized by professional self-examination and an outline of things to come and to be done.

The first part, with descriptions by Erhard Schultz, Wilfried Voigt, and Roswitha Peters, deals with three core domains of our discipline: (a) General adult education and its contents and cross-relations, (b) Vocational development as an apparently specific subject within the conflicting demands of a labour market framework and its policies, and (c) The competencies necessary for the achievement of true professionalism and its postulates.[1]

The integration and ideal of a perhaps "professionalized" general, vocational, and political education was and will continue to be more a programme and claim than reality.

The second part, with its two contributions, tries to show the possible link-up of political emancipation and adult education illustrated by the examples from the two dominant emancipatory movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — the labour movement, by Wolfgang Hindrichs, and the women's movement, by Wiltrud Gieseke.

The third part ruminates upon a classical issue without which there is no science of adult education: How does the slowly ascending science of adult education design and shape its relationship with other "sciences" to which it refers? This context is examined by Wilke Thomssen with regard to sociology, by Erhard Schlutz and Wilfried Voigt with regard to education science, and by Wilhelm Mader with regard to psychology.

The fourth part explores three once again fundamental emphases on an area most in need of integration, namely paradigmatic theory: Herbert Gerl points out the problematic relationship of education and the person, Günther Holzapfel the promise of an experiential approach, and Peter Alheit the biographical approach to a different type of adult education.

In spite of some gaps, the essays can well serve as an introduction to the theory and history of adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany, although — while discussing the manuscripts among colleagues — we realized that the programme of cross-disciplinary and practice-related science of adult education is easier for one single scholar to design and put stringently down on paper than can be sustained in the daily blend of for and against, of ignorance and misunderstandings of next-door colleagues and their backgrounds, careers, and political commitments.

The birth of such a real, cross-disciplinarity was harder than expected and quite different from the one publicly announced and textbook-like imagined, witness the book itself as the practice of what we preach. Any true future science of adult education will have to be a cross-discipline — here, there, everywhere — lest adult education deteriorate into a socio-technical or hardware induction training, and this cross-discipline needs scholarship and science for self-enlightenment.

Notes

[1] Mader, W. (1987). "Orientierungsprobleme: Zur Entwicklung des Studiums zwischen Berufsfeldern, Wissenschaftsdisziplinen und Forschungsansätzen". In E. Schlutz and H. Siebert (eds.). *Ende der Professionalisierung? Die Arbeitssituation in der Erwachsenenbildung als Herausforderung für Studium, Fortbildung und Forschung*, pp. 119-128. (Tagungsberichte No. 17). Bremen: Universität. A succinct diagnosis and slightly gloomy perspective, with some remedies beyond the year 2000. A valuable supplement [M.H.].

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REISCHMANN, J. (ed.) (1988). *Adult Education in West Germany in Case Studies*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Translator's Note and Acknowledgments

Martin G. Haindorff

It is well known that some of the terms used in the essays — such as *Ausbildung*, *Fortbildung*, and *Weiterbildung* — have been a problem of very long standing to any careful translator. Instead of burdening the text with frequent and long footnotes, an appendix with glossarial essays and a documentation has been provided to assist the reader.

The contributors' bibliographies have been supplemented as far as possible with the original, usually English, references where they used the German version. Book subtitles are provided. The bibliographies now offer full information and a cross-section of what a well-staffed department of adult education thinks to be most relevant for the field, including some material difficult to find or inaccessible elsewhere.

Terse personal self-reflections have been obtained from the authors, for the benefit of foreign educators suffering from the ontological insecurity of their beliefs and hankering perhaps after their far-away colleagues' educational influences, convictions, and occasional tacit despair.

Some words and phrases have resisted repeated attempts at "correct" translations because they are loaded with cultural and historical connotations. *Zwieback* is no crux and easy to crack: you can taste it. To crack, taste, and hopefully relish *Bildung* [B] or *Erziehung* [E], most of us natives and foreigners need a few decades. Many bibliographical entries in the Annotated Bibliography in the Appendix have received simple codings expressing the translator's enthusiasm by the number of asterisks awarded, five being the maximum [*****]. The Husserl volumes (except his Vienna lecture), Kant, Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*, and some others did not get any because I cannot be enthusiastic about them, their intellectual importance or even clarity (Heidegger) notwithstanding.

The contributors' original foreign language terms or my comments are put in square brackets throughout where this was found to be helpful. Typical examples are [B] *Bildung* (a "general-liberal-cultural-cultivation"), and [E] *Erziehung* (something like "educative-teaching-and-forming") with its appertaining "Science" [EW] usually rendered as education(al) science.

The book as a whole has benefited from James A. Martin's (Freiburg) proofreading, question-marks, and suggestions for stylistic improvements. Andrea Kastner (Vancouver) recommended further clarifications, particularly on Bremen's "University Studies", most of which have been incorporated. The contributors, finally, explained some of their more difficult phrases and meanings, which led to minor changes in the English version.

Part I
Professional Domains

General Adult Education

Erhard Schlutz

> *I went to the Folk High School. I wondered what to study: Walther von der Vogelweide [the minnesinger], or chemistry, or stone age flora. Practically speaking, no matter what, I wasn't gonna be able to use any of it. If you take physics, you do it keeping in mind a possible job and so you only learn what you think you can sell later on. We just did it for our education's sake and where to expand it.*
>
> *Bert Brecht: Refugee Talk*

Is not general education [B] particularly valuable because it serves your own use and your own person, as opposed perhaps to a more specialized or professional education [B], one that is supposed to increase your personal value in the job market? Kalle, the labourer, chatting with Ziffel, the physicist, about the value of education [B] puts the contrast and the valuation of general education [B] in perspective: Its value depends on your social position. If someone like Ziffel is in a function of social leadership, he can even benefit from an intense study of a general subject and use it as his working capital. If, however, someone like Kalle is a social and professional underdog, then general education [B] drops in exchange value, becomes willy-nilly something egoistical, even futile ("just...education"), with a connotation of vague utility for oneself.

This literary reminiscence is meant to remind us that we must not expect an unequivocal answer to the question what general adult education [GAE] means to different social groups.

1. The Term Itself

If general education is set off from political and vocational adult education — as is done in Bremen's Act on Continuing Education — this evokes three historical roots and three core tasks of modern adult education:

(1) Civil enlightenment; the declaration of "inalienable" and "inherent" human rights in particular, with its demand of free development and sharing of culture for all people (general adult education).

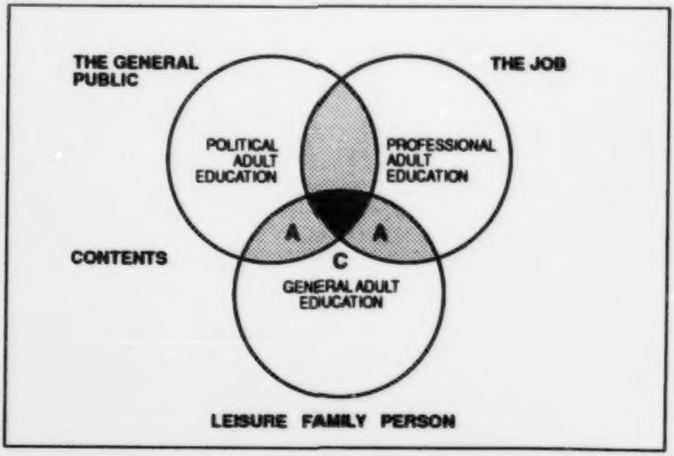
(2) Industrialization with its wake of a steadily increasing and accelerating change of skill requirements (vocational adult education).

(3) Social, emancipatory movements of the nineteenth century, creating a critical social potential out of "losers" of industrialization processes; notably the labour movement, the women's movement (political adult education).

Today these terms are meant to distinguish and possibly shape up in the first place certain spheres of activity, programme contents, and functions of adult education. It is true, though, that these terms are more suited for a first orientation that for a precise distinction. Such a distinction is perhaps best achieved when certain specific contents are arranged which by traditional standards, such as school curricula, are assumed to be of general educational value. But then the variety of adult education available is far wider than this syllabus tradition, and the traditional allocation fails as soon as we inquire into goals and functions of specific courses followed by adults.

Native language courses, such as "German for (German) Adults" are typically thought to be generally educative. Nevertheless, few of the roughly 600 participants surveyed for the reasons of their presence (Schlutz, 1976) replied that they use their new knowledge in private or for personal enrichment; many stressed they wanted more self-assurance in public life; most hoped to get on professionally or to pass a specific examination.

Once a distinction is made between content and functions (or areas of experience and the role of adults) the notion of general adult education takes shape. The drawing below shows the content-oriented tripartition and the range of adult experiences as adopted by the German *Bildungsrat* (1970) (a public council for education):



General adult education (GAE) would thus comprise courses which deal with experiences during spare time, in the family, and with oneself (identity). But the notion of GAE is not fully congruent with these areas; it is wider and multi-dimensional as suggested by my letters A-B-C. It covers the following dimensions and functions in approximation:

(a) An educational foundation, necessary also for any political and vocational education. This includes not only the typical elementary school curriculum (the three R's), but also other pertinent abilities and skills to cope with life events hardly ever taught, from home economics to sophisticated political-economic connections and historically new basics like the implications of a future United States of Europe, or the impact of information technology.

(b) Key competence, in areas facilitating the synthesis and transfer of knowledge as, for instance, scientific thinking, psychological insights..., usually the fruit of long-term reflective, educative work in meaningful areas (working life, politics etc.).

(c) Socio-cultural education, meaning the sharing and shaping of culture in its widest (European) sense, including civilization, from health care to aesthetic education; an important area beside politics, justice, economics, occupation, and other common causes, although sometimes difficult to separate.

Obviously these dimensions and functions form a cluster, but we are today less optimistic than was our 19th century school system — grammar schools in particular (the German humanistic *Gymnasium*) — to attain these aims with a prescribed syllabus, if only because of widely varying educational demands of adults.

2. A Survey Across the Field

It is not easy to form a truthful picture of the sum total of participants and personnel, institutions and contents of GAE in the Federal Republic of Germany. There is a multitude of educational providers, financed or sponsored by various sources. Federal statistics are rare or incomplete, with the exception of *Volkshochschulen* (Adult Education Centres, Folk High Schools). It is most difficult to gather data of internal programmes such as in-company training of in-house seminars of trade associations. The following overview relies, therefore, on incomparable data compilations, namely on: a representative survey covering the West German population compiled by the Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW, 1987), 1985 structural data of those educational institutions receiving public funds from the Land of Bremen (Landesamt,1987), official statistics of the German Association of Adult Education Centres for 1980 and 1986 (Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, 1980, 1986).

Taking popular participation as a starting point, the importance of GAE seems rather impressive. According to their own statements in 1985, eleven per cent of the adult population — about 4.1 million — has attended GFE courses, as against twelve per cent vocational and two per cent political GAE courses (BMBW, 1987). It is understood that when comparing general with vocational education we have to bear in mind the greater number of hours taught in the latter, because they include, for instance, comprehensive professional retraining courses (*Landesamt*, 1987).

Asked where they had attended courses in GAE, the respondents replied as follows (BMBW, 1987):

- 27 % Adult Education Centres (VHS),
- 14 % In-company, in-service,
- 10 % External commercial courses,
- 6 % Educational Institutes of the Churches.

It is striking how much GAE is supplied in-company, but also how many places of education are not mentioned, either because people did not remember or because various small percentages could not be consolidated. Many institutions (e.g. Consumer Advice Bureaus) offer educational courses as a sideline, and then there are "alternative" educational and/or cultural courses and events with their special target groups ("women only"), special topics (ecology), or group activities ("live and learn in the countryside"). Still others offer programmes similar to "established" institutions.

Adult Education Centres are the most important institutions of GAE, both with regard to numbers of participants and according to their own programme profile, evidencing an average portion of three quarters GAE. AECs are communal learning centres supported directly or indirectly by districts or local communities, mostly on a voluntary basis with the exception of the provinces of Hesse and North-Rhine Westphalia where communities are required to provide basic adult education. Most Adult Education Centres were created during the first German Republic from 1919 onwards. In the past twenty years of adult education expansion, their programmes — measured in teaching hours — have quintupled. Today there are some 800 Adult Learning Centres with 4,000 branches offering in 1986 a grand total of about 360,000 courses. They are relatively autonomous in programme design and staffing and adapt to local needs, but have a lot in common since they exchange views in regional and federal parent organizations, take part in staff training, and have a Pedagogical Research Centre as an institutional service, located in Frankfurt am Main.

We know little about the participants in adult education, apart from some research studies in model projects. According to AEC statistics, more than 70 per cent are women. Participants are rather young: more than half of them are under 35, only about 13-14 per cent are 50 and beyond (Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, 1986). Regarding their social background we can only assume from representative surveys (Schulenberg, 1978) that course attendance (but not esteem for it!) lessens with lower education. The Bremen statistics show a decrease in recent years among course participants to about one third with a first school leaving certificate (extended primary school, nine years of schooling) or with none at all (Landesamt, 1987). This decrease is attributed to reduced public funds with subsequent rises in fees and orientation towards "strong demand" courses.

Who teaches GAE? Data are available from the German Association of Adult

Education Centres only: Half of its centres are run by full-time employees, with an additional 2,400 full-time teachers (a third of whom involved in project work), slightly more in administration. The full-time personnel deals mainly with programme preparation and distribution, recruitment and training of course leaders and with general help and advice to participants. On the whole course leaders are part-timers (there are about 130,000), though many have made it their main job: there are now no more than 28 per cent freelance (school) teachers as against 44 per cent in 1980. Half of them are unemployed (Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, 1980, 1986). The situation will be similar in other educational institutions: some will have more full-time employees because of all-day activities, many have no full-timers at all.

Which content is offered and demanded most? The GAE statistics, in decreasing rank order, list:

- Foreign languages: nearly a third of all teaching hours (one third of this is English, one fifth French);
- Musical-creative arts: about 15 per cent of teaching hours, but more according to the number of courses and participants (more than half of it: sculptural work);
- School leaving certificates: nearly 10 per cent (half of them drop-outs with no certificates);
- Health care education: about 10 per cent (among which some 80 per cent involves yoga/gymnastics);
- Home economics: another 10 per cent;
- Mathematics/natural science/engineering (part of which belongs to vocational education);
- Educative teaching [E], philosophy, psychology;
- Art appreciation;
- Foreign and local history and geography.

Such a summary listing veils much of importance, for instance that GAE centres have pushed back the extent of language and manual courses in favour of innovative projects and "minority" programmes, or that smaller educational institutions offer supplementary and different courses.

3. The Development of Content-Related Concepts and Emphases

Are there any programme concepts discernible behind this global sketch of GAE concepts, or do courses simply reflect demand or the local availability of teaching staff? Since the beginning of a professionalization in adult education in the mid-sixties, pressures have grown to orientate programmes more towards pedagogical and societal goals and to create a demand for them. I should like to outline some of these concepts much talked and written about, which led to certain new programme emphases. My outline will be chronological, but of course cannot cover the total range of GAE and will concentrate on publicly funded institutions, disregarding somewhat in-company and commercial training.

3.1 The "Realistic Turn": Continuing Education Towards Examinations and Certification

"Realistic turn" is a label applied in the professional literature since the late sixties comprising increased institutionalization, programme enlargement and systematization towards vocational and professional accreditation. Previous programmes had mostly to do with the cultivation of *Kultur*, and popular science courses, but also with general contemporary topics and democracy. "AEC-level" was a catchword tinged with mockery and condescending esteem.

This "realistic" counter-current happened in all industrialized countries becoming aware of "lifelong learning". But there was a specific West German impetus: First came a certain consolidation of the new Republic and its first economic crisis, initiating both a general criticism of the traditional three-track school system with its slogans "education (free) for all" and "equal opportunities for all" and, as a by-product, the heightening interest in adult education. Such mood was reflected in two recommendations of Committees for Educational Policies (Deutscher Ausschuß, 1960; Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1970) concerning the expansion of adult education. The *Deutsche Bildungsrat* (Council for Education) lumped together what had until then been called "adult education" (*Erwachsenenbildung*), "retraining" (*Umschulung*), and "supplementary vocational training" (*berufliche Fortbildung*) and demanded the establishment of a fourth unified domain under the new name of "*Weiterbildung*" (continuing education). It recommended a "building block system" of continuing education to facilitate cross-links, enabling participants to use such modules widely. This development corresponded well with public consciousness and educational needs surveyed in a representative study (in Strzelewicz/Raapke/Schulenberg, 1966): Adult education was no longer seen as a hobby for the well-educated, but as vital. Adult Education Centres were expected to supply systematic and reliable courses supporting career progress; all this at a time when officially AECs still kept aloof from schools, jobs, and systematics.

What could adult education do to offer goal and success orientated, systematic and reliable learning assistance without adopting the state school system or company training schemes (apprenticeship etc,)? One answer was the certification scheme developed from the late sixties onwards by AECs and their Pedagogical Research Centre (Schulenberg, 1968; Tietgens et al., 1974). Ironically this attempt to avoid adoption of the school system led to later criticism of adult education's having been schooled.

This attempt was helped by pedagogy developing into a "Science of Educative Teaching" (*Erziehungswissenschaft*), an empirical science with socio-theoretical implications. There was, for instance, the question how to conceptualize specialized courses without borrowing from the traditional school syllabus, with a helpful and very recent curricular discussion. Robinson (1966) had proposed, for curricular innovations and revisions, not to turn to traditional curricula and science, but:

- to explore life situations with which people had to cope,
- then to describe the required abilities,
- and to facilitate their acquisition with the help of new curricula.

This idea with life situations as a starting point became a style of procedure not only for the design of AEC certificates, but also for many other developmental tasks of adult education.

For the question of certification it was one thing to know how to find and design contents, quite another how to check and test learning results credibly without recourse to state legitimacy for certification. If certificates should gain acceptance all by themselves, among employers and the general public, standardized exams would be required, attesting nationwide comparable performances. This development was also helped by a behaviourally inspired science of education with its recent research into "objective" performance tests. The Pedagogical Research Centre established a central testing service which developed test items, checked solutions, and certified results. This led to general acceptance and to preparatory courses by AECs and similar institutes not only in the Federal Republic of Germany, but also in many neighbouring countries. The certificates have indeed promoted international cooperation in adult education.

But the prescription of standardized tests has adversely affected the content-related approach to life situations by reducing it to that behavior which can be simulated and measured in tests. This restricted the development to areas and learning dimensions which seemed "objectively" testable: the cognitive part of foreign language learning and of mathematics/natural sciences. In 1986 a total of some 13,500 participants passed exams with certification compared to 9,500 in 1980 (Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, 1980, 1986). 3,500 each passed tests in English and German as a foreign language. Heavy demand was on record for informatics and commercial English. There were still noticeable numbers in tests covering French, Spanish, electronics, electrical engineering, but insignificant numbers for the rest (Russian, mathematics, statistics, chemistry).

More important than these test numbers are the consequences for the improvement of the subject-related and pedagogical quality of courses offered due to the certification process. The systematization and standardization of programme portions made possible the development of distinct requirement analyses, teaching material, supplementary staff training in a larger perspective, and to incorporate recent approaches in adult education didactics.

Besides this development in certification, there is a striking feature of this "realistic turn": the increase in courses preparing for external exams in schools, trade, and industry. This, however, required adaptation to their goals and contents. Only in a limited way has adult education been able to co-determine contents and test conditions. North-Rhine Westphalia succeeded in relation to the first and second educational leaving certificates, which could be taken within the educational centres themselves. Lower Saxony accepts AEC certificates as equivalent to some subjects in secondary school leaving certificates. On the whole, testing has remained with the State and industry. The "third way of education" competes under usually unfavourable conditions with the "second way of education" (e.g. evening classes and full-time preparatory classes) administered and funded by the State school system. Preparation for school or vocational tests accounts for about 10 per cent in hours or 1 per cent in numbers of Adult Education Centres. Demand for their preparatory course has risen steadily, with the exception of college/university admission courses which have decreased, on account of the improved level of education or the growing unemployment of academics.

The realistic turn and the increase in full-time personnel has brought with it more systematic, transparent, continuous and often more time-consuming adult education programmes. It is true that adult education has not come closer to "schooling" in view of an educative function, but it has partly overtaken it in view of the requirements of a cognitive, goal-orientated learning. Perhaps this impression was the reason for a kind of internal "deschooling" which went hand in glove with more institutionalization and professionalization of adult education: adult-orientated teaching methods and leadership styles, people-centred experiential components, and group dynamics. Brocher's book (1967) was a landmark and the most widely read book of the adult education literature.

3.2 Target Group Versus Experiential Group

The dominant "plan-and-offer" principle of subject-orientated syllabi was increasingly opposed. Wasn't it a school and university principle to run specialized courses, and isn't it adult education's prime question who the participants are and how to design the programme with target groups in mind?

Of course, the target group had its traditional place in adult education sectors and was implicit in Robinsohn's curricular approach. But the discussions in the early seventies, whether the special subject or the target group principle was more suitable to develop and to present adult education programmes, had more acute causes (cf. Mader & Weymann, 1979). Quite different and sometimes mutually exclusive reasons for target groups were given:

- Market strategies regarded them as publicity targets.
- Educational policies tried to move adult education towards hitherto neglected groups (the educationally disadvantaged) and not just to enlarge it (slogan: "Democratization of the Adult Education Centres", cf. Degen-Zelazny, 1977).
- Social pedagogy: preventative care for certain marginal groups through education.
- Socio-political or reform movements lobbied for the deschooling of society and adult education and fought for self-organized autonomy of their clients and their dealing with past everyday experiences.

It is controversial among those who advance the last argument how far own experience carries and whether you can do without "alienated" knowledge (cf. Dauber, in Breloer et al., 1980; Negt, 1968). Both share a political engagement for the emancipation of their client groups. It is with this conceptualization that the target group approach gains political-didactical momentum and is distinctly different from traditional concepts of adult education.

These different causes and reasons have blended and in the practice of education we find special subject and target group courses side by side: "English for Senior Citizens" (the course is directed towards a well-defined group), "Preparation for Convicts to be Released" (educational help in certain situations in life), "Women Learn How to Change their Situations" (an explicit politically motivated project).

A wide range of programmes is available for women, senior citizens, foreigners, the unemployed, the handicapped. Hardly any other institution went as far as the local Bremen Adult Education Centre with its attempt in the mid-seventies to organize all its courses according to such target groups (for women, for employees etc.). This was later discontinued in favour of a mixed programme, probably (in my personal opinion) because a broad spectrum of middle-class groups were not reached either.

This had made us aware of one fundamental difficulty for GAE: It is unable to counterbalance or change societal inequality by education alone. Its courses are largely dependent on existing motivations for education. The benefit of the target group discussion is doubtless a harder thinking about the societal role of adult education, its stronger orientation towards the living conditions and experiences of its addressees and an enrichment by social and community work methods.

Let us not overlook some queries: In view of a threatening loss of one's own experience its conservation and reappropriation is an essential educational task (Kejcz, 1979), but a one-sided glorification of an available experience evades a central problem of education and research: how people can deal with the scientification and intricateness of the world while remaining in charge. It is also a fact that thinking in terms of target groups neglects content so that in extreme cases the group itself and its problems become the "subject" and not the "matter". The target group concept can thus become (unwillingly) a henchman of social policy which shifts social problems onto individuals by making them an educational task. This has indeed been happening since the late seventies. Unemployment appears then hardly any longer as a structural problem, but as a question of individual effort (Schlutz, 1983).

This danger can be allayed in everyday work by groups putting it squarely on the table. It will dwindle the more such education is firmly placed in a context of broad self-help and emancipatory movements such as women's education (Schiersmann, 1984a; Gieseke, 1984).

3.3 Culture and Leisure Orientations

Is modern adult education to further above all a goal-orientated learning and is it to shoulder unequivocal social policy functions? Or is it now as ever the supplier of communication and meaningful leisure activities, concerned with the beautiful and one's self-image? Since the mid-seventies this cultural function of adult education has become more and more the focus of attention, not only due to movements and countermovements in the educational system, but also because of a changing interest in culture. A variety of causes may have been at work: The "cultural revolution" brought about by the student unrest in and after 1968; the enlargement of what is termed "art" (Joseph Beuys: "Everyman is an artist", society is "a social sculpture"); a push towards individualism following rising incomes and consumption (as suggested earlier); the increasing leisure time (real or imagined). Quite different goals such as "democratization of culture", care and development of "everyday culture", "subcultures", leisure-time pedagogy, and culture as a medium for local publicity could benefit to a certain degree from this interest. All this was visibly reflected in new museums, civic centres, culture centres, culture shops, cultural initiatives, free theatre groups, and not least in the expansion of cultural education programmes with AECs, private and commercial institutions, and trade unions (lagging behind a bit).

Public interest in these demands and tendencies is still widespread, but public funding has slackened with the spending cuts of communities and persistent unemployment, leading to funds being allocated to retraining campaigns and forms of "cultural social work" (as against "social culture work") in which social "problem-groups" are kept busy with art-work (Fuchs, in Fuchs & Schnieders, 1982; Schlutz & Voigt, 1986).

The idea of culture having to make up for something, cultural work as compensatory, dominated part of the discussion from the beginning. A supplementary plan for "fine-arts/cultural education", important for educational policy, says that the fine arts become more important to countervail a successive rationalization of the modern world (Bund-Länder-Kommission, 1977). Some concepts of leisure-time pedagogy follow a similar track (cf. Gieseke's overview, 1984), starting from the premise that accelerating spare time will make up for a one-sided working life, will open up new space for the design of "freedoms" which would require educational help.

Does increasing leisure time require educational interventions, if it is at all genuinely "free" time? Does it make sense to seek or promise healing in one part of life, for wounds inflicted in another? Similar critical questions must be put to all other catchwords, if such battle-cries of *Kulturpolitik* are to yield firmly grounded programmes and initiatives.

What does it mean to expand "culture" beyond "high culture" or "humanist culture"? Is walking on stilts also cultural activity, or is it that we say "culture" to ONE gestalt of life and work? But isn't such an "everyday culture" self-evident, that which everyone shares, which he becomes aware of only when it hits him in local concentration (pubs) or in seasonal highs (feasts)? Regaining or revival seem to be at least as important as the question of "democratization of culture" or the questionability of the traditional civil arts culture. But then, as it is not a question of culture in itself, but of group cultures, of cultural identity, the relationship of necessary self-organization and a helping assistance is to be pondered. As regards adult education, the part socio-cultural education can play in a comprehensive cultural development (Dumazedier, 1974) is to be considered here. In former times adult education courses often tried to catch up with art connoisseurs' views. With the enlargement (and enrichment?) of "culture" the educational problem was often too easily skipped. It was overlooked that a manifold social intercourse with art and an enriched design of daily life require different modes of perception and expressive capabilities which are not intuitively imprinted.

If one tries to encapsulate the commonality of most socio-cultural education, then the task is essentially to break through a passive and uncritical reception of leisure, culture, and media industry alike, by:

- retaining and developing one's own creative capabilities,
- by discussing and arguing with existing art and culture,
- by seeking a common ground and exploring new life styles and socio-cultural identity (Schlutz, 1985).

Such an educative work asks for crossing boundaries: those of various artistic fields, between art and everyday culture, between education and educational practice, between fine arts and political practice, between self-organization and professional entertainment, and so on.

The case of the AECs illustrates how difficult this is. Some ten years ago all separate tracks of receptive analysis and active creation of language and sound, pictures and materials, play and movement were lumped together as "cultural education" in order to deal fully with social-cultural reality. The number of courses was tripled, and in spite of decreasing outside funds it still was the second largest track. Many attempts have since been made to open up these courses in content (polyaesthetic education, the introduction of a wide range of life "out there", working life...) and in organization (introductory and weekend workshops, feasts, family and public access...), getting in touch with residential areas, cooperating with other course providers and "autonomous" initiatives. This notwithstanding, genuinely qualitative "boundary crossings" like comprehensive cultural projects are certainly rarer than staff would wish. The core courses comprise aesthetic education; other programme areas (health education, ecological education) remain unintegrated. The chance was missed to see culture not only in aesthetic terms, but as creative design of one's own ideas of a "good" life. Conversely it could have attached a seemingly disorientated search — in health education — for body awareness, sensuality, meditation, to "art" as a traditional medium of contemplation and creative expression. The prevalent form is the single course, as a rule as workshop for a specific skill (e.g. pottery). This fragmentation of courses and its splitting off of cultural education from the aggregate socio-cultural education and practice is rooted in social separations and expectations. Funding procedures of adult education prefer the single (learning) course. Of course, participants' expectations too are fragmented and channelled. Institutions and courses are expected to offer something well-defined, this probably the more so, the higher the fees are.

Other institutions have slightly differing, but similar difficulties in living up to their own standard of social cultural work. "Cultural initiatives", for example, often have a faithful clientele permitting comprehensive or long-term projects, but usually at the cost of strong self-selection: As soon as unusual activity or regression, self-presentation and deviating behavior are called for, participants get younger and more highly educated.

Special initiatives and projects cannot, therefore, be considered the normal cultural adult education, particularly as they are often well described because of their model character and the attention they get. Perhaps some lessons can be learnt for the future prospects of cultural education, from examples such as:

- a play where workers (working men and women) present their own conflicts and environment (Holzapfel & Bröhlke, 1987) [sociodrama];
- a theatre group of an AEC digging up, working through, and presenting the national-socialist past of their town, which results in a TV film (WDR: "Essen under the Swastika");
- when a village looks into its own history and presents it using various ways of presentation (Ahlheim, 1986).

Such activities should be examined for their relevance to a wider practice. They should not be deprecated before their function and meaning is clarified (Schlutz & Voigt, 1986).

3.4 Literacy and Elementary Education

The programmes now to be reported have not yet come up to the extent of emphases outlined, but have led to wide and lively discussions in the Federal Republic of Germany and other industrialized countries; certainly because elementary education does not seem at first to be a task of adult education and then because the discovery of illiteracy among adults grown up in their native environment and having attended a school does jeopardize a society's self-image as a well-educated culture.

Literacy in the eighties of the Federal Republic certainly does not rank as high as in Britain in the seventies where in a large-scale campaign — with some 65,000 participants at its peak — the idea of adult education was truly popularized. But the tendencies mentioned culminate as it were in German endeavours to make possible:

- the acquisition of basic knowledge and leaving certificates (3.1),
- the care for a neglected group (3.2), and
- a "democratized" literary culture (3.3), using methods adequate to the experiences and needs of illiterates.

Work with the illiterate requires linguistic, social, cultural, and pedagogical skills (usually two course leaders in a small group), and is therefore an expensive process without participants covering overheads through high fees, hence adult centres were initially not very keen on this task. Once this problem was discovered — as a result of foreign models, of local experiences with prisoners, of mindful unemployed teachers or social workers — the gist of the debate became the question whether illiteracy was a big problem at all. The number of illiterates is first a question of a conceptual definition: Whom do we call a literate? Is it someone who "knows" single letters (the "alphabet"), who can write three sentences on a postcard, who can perform the paperwork of a job, who can share cultural activities of his social environment, or is it someone who can write in accordance with school-leaving standards? All these definitions were given in international debates. According to which definition you adopt, numbers of adult native illiterates vary between 300,000 and 3 million in the Federal Republic (Hausmann, in Drecoll & Müller, 1981). Nothing statistically relevant is known about causes of illiteracy, although there are written-up cases pointing to individual causes, but also to a continual neglect of those pupils who during their school-career have failed their first introductory reading course. It should also be borne in mind that reading and writing requirements on the job are pretty low or erratic for most adults which means that knowledge can fall into oblivion.

Practical alphabetization work gained momentum in 1982 when the BMBW (Federal Ministry for Education and Science) began to fund a development project elaborated by the Pedagogical Research Centre, originally designed for pure alphabetization and nowadays extended to cover "the teaching of elementary qualifications". This project has remarkably combined research and development through local networking, a series of published brochures, and the training of course-leaders (Fuchs-Brüninghoff et al., 1986). In 1987 more than 300 institutes (including those beyond the circle of AECs) took part in this attack on illiteracy, with a total of 8,300 participants (only 2,000 in 1982). Recently a project called "literacy in multi-media" has been added, managed by the Adolf-Grimme-Institute (the media institute of the German Association of AECs). This led to TV-spots hosted by well-known personalities promoting courses. Audiovisual teaching material with examples from group work is to follow.

While this work is being expanded to include and offer chances to make up for other deficiencies in elementary education needed by adults to deal with their lives, there are dim contours on the horizon for another basic education required by the technological development not yet available at school to present-day adults: the so-called "information-technology education". In this sector adult education, particularly the commercial one, has benefited enormously from highest growth rates, and is more than compensatory in relation to school education; it is in fact enlarging or even innovative. Occasionally this new information-technology education is labelled the "new general education". Such a tag is an overstatement. I do not believe that both types of education compete with each other. The level of EDP-knowledge required of most people is very low. Evidently, though, more people than ever before need comprehensive knowledge in reading and writing if they want to share the achievements of an information-technology education. Whether all people wish to share it could become the real issue; or — in educational terms — whether the third industrial revolution requires a better general education or just one for a small leadership elite with all other people serving as a sort of configural periphery, if they serve at all.

4. The Idea of a General Education

The apparently topical quest for a necessary general education is certainly also a relevant task which educational sciences would need to deal with in theory and practice. The question seems pertinent to ask whether the described emphases could be viewed under the leitmotif of "General Education" or if education centres could plan their courses along a criterion of General Education (without losing a customer-directed viewpoint). But isn't this an outdated, perhaps even typically German idea? Is the idea of a General Education a foundation for the design and research of educational processes, and if at all, rather more appropriate for child and youth education?

The idea of a General Education is not identical with an array of courses in general education (in opposition to, say, vocational education), but points to a comprehensive enterprise developed during the Enlightenment and the classical German philosophy, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. While the idea of Education (*Bildung*) springs from the newly discovered potential of human self-development, the idea of General Education (*Allgemeinbildung*) is an answer to the parallel experience of this potential being stifled in an increasingly fragmented society, for instance in the wake of the division of work which penetrates the individual leaving a feeling of disorientation and a split between thinking, willing, and feeling.

Klafki (1985) has found three demands as common elements of all early conceptions of a general education still due to the Enlightenment and Human Rights, from Rousseau to von Humboldt:

- Formative education of all powers.
- Formative education for everyone.
- Formative education in "*sensus communis*".

There are, then, three concurrent elements: the psychological aim of furthering all intrinsic powers of the individual, the social idea of all people being created equal, and the political task of educating towards society's key problems (everyman's concern). Essentially they are the slogans of the French Revolution: Liberty, equality, fraternity — converted into educational programmes.

It is indicative of the history of the idea of General Education that we usually link only the first element (individual formation of powers) with the idea of a firm precept of cultural traditions (*Bildungsgüter*). Among the schooling concepts of the nineteenth century the idea of a General Education has indeed often been reduced to it, evidencing two fundamental dangers in this view:

(1) A disapproval of burgeoning modern ways of conduct, with the illusion of an individual being able to master all, being able to comprise the multitude of potential knowledge and competencies, being able, so to speak, to form himself "into shape", into one whole piece of art.

(2) Connected with this is the reservation of the idea of a General Education for

> the "*Gymnasium*", the German secondary school, that is for young people, more specifically for the male youth in senior years. No doubt, this was criticized already in the nineteenth century. Hegel, for instance, rejected the premise that general education is a matter for privileged youths and precedes the special education of adults: General education being a composite of many experiences made in the course of life and, not least, working life — an argument emphasizing adult education for a general education. Still, these two fundamental distortions of the idea of General Education — the illusion of an attainable whole by means of certain subject-matters, and the justification of an educational privilege — seem to have unmasked the idea as an ideology. Why bother any longer? Because the fundamental problem on which the idea rests is unresolved.

The segregation and fragmentation of modern societies has led educationalists to revive the idea of a general education not by reason of an overoptimistic view that such a conception could make undone or heal such developments, but to make explicit the contradiction that true identity formation — the concurrence of self-formation and co-formation — in modern times appears to be both necessary and endangered. The persistence of the problem perhaps keeps the idea of a general education alive,

- through education planners who demand a new education (Kommission Weiterbildung, 1984);
- among participants with their needs for a compensatory experiential, holistic learning;
- among scientists who call for more comprehensive vocational training and preparation, the greater inclusion of senior citizens, workers, women, and more help in the search for new ways of living and a new political culture (Schlutz & Siebert, 1987).

The conception of a general education appears to be still helpful and valid, if it does not imply a firm, rigid content but permits the actualization of queries and demands — originally rooted in it — vis-à-vis a modern, developing society and countercurrents or resistance against one-sided tendencies.

The idea of a general education can help individuals not to see the gaps between their own capabilities and requisite orientations as personal failure, but as a legitimate desire for the interpretive appropriation of their own lives, for cultural sharing, for political co-determination. Course providers could make "general education" the touchstone of their planning and ask themselves how far their programmes

- countervail one-sided deformations brought about by much toil, the cultural industry, and the psychic strains of individuals (formative education of all powers);
- make good for social and national, school-, age- and sex-linked handicaps (formative education for everyone);
- facilitate the tackling of urgent future problems (formative education in "*sensus*

communis") by re-introducing expert knowledge into everyday life (Habermas, 1981, vol.2).

Which powers, which groups, which key problems remain shut out from our educational programmes, in spite of a rich course offering: this is the question the idea of a general education still puts us. It gives rise to further queries like these:

- Can we still define a vital, fundamental education?
- Can we think a general education for individuals facing up to identifiable problems?
- Is General Education worth attaining only in communication and cooperation with others? (If so, how do we assure it in an increasing individualization?)
- Is it possible at all to re-introduce expert knowledge into everyday life or does the complexity of knowledge exceed the layman's capability to appreciate and judge?

Historical experiences with the conception of General Education ought to make us critically aware of how ambivalent the demand for a General Education is handled in recent educational-political debates. On the one hand it is maintained that in the future everybody will need a more highly formal General Education, on the job and off the job, in addition to knowledge of information technology; furthermore, they will need so-called key qualifications such as flexibility, selective perception, creativity, and communication (Kommission Weiterbildung, 1984). On the other hand, it is suggested that in view of the on-going rationalization in information-technology few people will reach positions with such competencies and that all others must look for a meaningful life outside their jobs, perhaps pursuing education and culture (Haefner, 1982).

This forebodes the danger of propagating a new, only vaguely contoured General Education [B], whose attainability remains enigmatic and which could justify the privileges of a new (functional) elite. This split argument raises suspicion that the "old" General Education and culture (and also everyday popular education) can expand so matter-of-fact like — e.g. assisted by adult education — because they rapidly lose societal usability and therefore are just suitable to bring comfort and pastime to the losers of the third industrial revolution.

Summary: *The difficulty in describing the field of general adult education is due to the multiple use of the concept, be that a foundational education, key competences, or socio-cultural education. Concepts and terms are explained and an overview of the size, the institutions, the participants, and the contents of general adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany are given. The main part proper presents the development of certain content areas emphasized during the last 20 to 30 years. The conclusion raises the question whether the content areas presented show up random demand or the idea of a modern general education, and whether such an idea of a comprehensive general education is still a stable concept for adult education.*

A Note on the Author

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During my professional career, my way of thinking and working was (and still is) strongly influenced by Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophical writings on language, and — more recently — by Jürgen Habermas' *Theory of Communicative Acting*.

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Vocational Development

Wilfried Voigt

Vocational development in the Federal Republic of Germany is a complex and little structured area of adult education, yet in quantitative terms it has expanded considerably in the past twenty years and gained political momentum. Vocational development builds on a differentiated system of:

- a first vocational training, with a minimum of two and a half years apprenticeship (dual education: includes vocational school with eight hours of instruction weekly); this ends with an examination in theory and practice leading to a
- Certificate of Apprenticeship (*Gesellenbrief* for journeymen, or *Kaufmannsgehilfenbrief* for clerical assistants). This is the basic pattern in trade and craft. In industry it leads from unskilled to semi-skilled, to skilled worker, to charge hand, to foreman (in German: *ungelernt, angelernt, Facharbeiter, Vorarbeiter*, finally *Betriebsmeister*).

This is a simplified pattern. There is a multitude of state-acknowledged training certificates, and there is also the additional college or university instruction and education (e.g. engineering), with certificates and diplomas. The outstanding characteristic of vocational training/education is its heterogeneity.

A vast number of training institutes with highly different interests and intentions offer a colourful range of programmes including nearly all course tracks, vocational content, levels of aspiration, and course designs. Lengths, goals, and quality vary form short induction courses without any theory at all to two-year courses leading to higher qualifications and new vocational certificates at various levels.

1. An Outline of My Own Position

Scientists deal with vocational development from a variety of approaches, but in particular from various perspectives of social and educational theory. These different positions result in diverging descriptions and attributions of goals and aims. There is indeed no general consensual "scientific" view of vocational development. The following contribution is, therefore, no neutral analysis, but largely derived from my own position. I see myself as a representative of a critical-constructive educational and social-science theory approach, outlined as follows:

(1) I understand education [B] to mean a lifelong process of developing thinking, feeling, and doing towards a better understanding of self and world and towards action in accordance with this understanding. Educational work has to see to it that in this process development in all three areas (cognitive, affective, motor-skill) is enlarged and not restrained. This notion of education holds equally for all areas of adult education. Vocational development is one important content area — among others but linked with them — where educational processes happen. This conception of education aims at mature thinking and acting. It presupposes an optimistic image of man. Man is seen as capable of changing himself and his societal living conditions. This understanding forbids two restrictions of the term "education": the reduction of education to a kind of "inward progress" and the preparation of man to an alleged behavior determined by societal conditions. I see the relationship of individual and society as dynamic reciprocity.

(2) I have, therefore, to look into society's fabric of ideologies, interests, power relations, political positions, social statuses (hierarchies), etc., which all lead to differing aims and task settings for vocational development, which in turn considerably influence teaching-learning processes and may present serious obstacles for educational work towards mature human beings.

(3) From this follows a rather wide conception of didactics. I see teaching and learning from and with adults (either way) in vocational adult training as didactical action firmly placed in the context of a force field of a societal and institutional framework with substantive requirements, pedagogical and didactic theories, with expectations, needs socialization, attitudes, and valuations of teachers and learners. The guiding question towards which a theory of (vocational) adult education has to contribute is: How can we design the field so that it helps and not hinders the reasonableness of people during their educational processes?

This question will guide my following evaluation of the actual situation of vocational development and the proposals for improvement. Prior to an analysis and evaluation a short survey will help to understand what vocational development means in the Federal Republic of Germany.

2. Survey of the Field

2.1 Extent and Courses Offered

A grand total of about four million participants per year have been recorded in vocational development courses, with the following subdivisions:

2.1.1 Vocational Career and Adaptive Development

Vocational development comprises all task-orientated courses maintaining, enlarging, or adapting vocational or professional knowledge and capabilities to "technical" developments, including career development. About 68 per cent of all participants fall into this category.

Career development prepares participants for examinations which, if passed, mean higher qualification for the same or another job requiring a certification. About 17 per cent attend such career-orientated courses.

Adaptive development is designed to supplement existing vocational knowledge and skills in view of changing job requirements. Such courses are used by about 51 per cent.

2.1.2 Vocational Retraining

Vocational retraining aims at making possible a transfer to another suitable job. It can mean on-the-job training for certain tasks or apprenticeship training of usually one or two years within a state-recognized vocation. Seven per cent of all participants have been retrained in the past years.

2.1.3 In-Company Induction Training

In-company induction training includes courses of various lengths and quality preparing participants for various jobs in trade and industry. About 25 per cent of all participants.

Other courses are difficult to classify. Participants cannot be measured in percentages:

2.1.4 Vocational Rehabilitation

Vocational rehabilitation courses for the re-integration of handicapped, sick people, or victims of accidents. About 20,000 people.

2.1.5 Vocational Reactivation

Vocational reactivation consists of refresher courses after a longer period of absence from a job.

2.1.6 "Resocialization"

Measures called "resocialization": the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners. Vocational qualification is part of the treatment.

2.2 Carriers, Sponsors, and Entrepreneurs

2.2.1 Schools

Vocational schools (*Fachschulen*) require job certificates and/or job practice as an entry condition. They offer courses in certain techniques, commerce, agriculture, home economics, social pedagogy, textile design and prepare for state examinations of state-recognized examinations held by Chambers of Industry and/or Commerce (certified technician, engineer, designer, economist, etc.).

Colleges (*Hochschulen*) and universities have only recently discovered continuing education as their task. A handful offer a few courses in scientific continuing education covering mostly natural sciences, engineering, and economics.

2.2.2 Unions

Vocational development within the parent organization of the DGB (Federation of Labour Unions) is carried out by their own public *Berufsfortbildungswerk* (Network of Vocational Development Courses and Premises) with some 75 local institutions.

Vocational development is also offered by three educational institutions of the DAG (employee union): the *DAG-Bildungswerk* (Network of Educational Courses and Premises), the *DAG-Technikum* (Network of Engineering or Polytechnical Courses and Premises), and the DAG-Employees' Academy.

2.2.3 Employers' Associations

There is a network of various associations and institutions offering courses and seminars. Important ones are

- *Kuratorium der Deutschen Wirtschaft für Berufsbildung* (Federal Institute of German Industry for Vocational Development).
- *Deutsche Vereinigung zur Förderung der Weiterbildung von Führungskräften* (German Association for the Promotion of Management Training).
- *Bildungsverbund Wirtschaft und Technik* (Joint Educational Institute of Economy and Engineering).
- *Bildungswerke der Wirtschaft* (Educational Centres of Trade and Industry: 11, one in each federal *Land* until 1990).
- 70 Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
- 45 Chambers of Craftsmen.
- Chambers of professional men: Dentists, doctors, advocates, public accountants.
- RKW (Institute for Efficiency Studies).
- VDI (Association of German Engineers).

2.2.4 Trade and Industry

This is the quantitatively largest sector of vocational development, but the least researched. Courses are predominantly training courses for middle and upper management and specialists.

2.2.5 Adult Education Centres (*Volkshochschulen*): The Traditional Folk High Schools

If the vast educational programme is broken down, about 20 per cent represents vocational education, and of this some 60 per cent is concerned with commercial and administrative knowledge and skills.

2.2.6 Churches

Among the educational services of the Evangelical-Protestant Church less than five per cent deal with vocational further training, whereas the Roman Catholic Church does much more, especially in the areas of "Economics and the Practice of Commerce" and "Mathematics, Science, and Techniques". Other denominational education is unknown to me.

2.2.7 Ministry of Defence

This ministry is the largest institutional provider of vocational development within a single federal authority. It runs in-service courses for soldiers and officers who have signed up for longer periods in *Bundeswehrakademien* (Academies of the German Federal Armed Forces).

2.2.8 Private Commercial Institutes

Privately owned educational institutes trying to make a profit out of their courses offer a wide range in the field of vocational development with varying lengths, aims, and quality. Their overall number of courses is unknown.

The following rough estimate of participants has to rely on various sources, since there are no reliable and comparable statistics for institutions of vocational education (Der Bundesminster, 1984; Fink & Sauter, 1980; Pflüger, 1983):

• Vocational Schools (*Fachschulen*)	170,00
• Colleges (*Hochschulen*)	25,000
• DGB (Unions)	40,000
• DAG (Employees' Union)	60,000
• *Bildungswerk der Wirtschaft* (Entrepreneurs)	50,000
• Chambers of Commerce and Industry	130,000
• Chambers of Handicrafts	165,000
• Chambers of Professions	35,000
• Various Employers' Institutes	120,000
• Industry and Trade	2,000,000
• Adult Education Centres	370,000
• Roman Catholic Church	100,000
• Ministry of Defence	90,000
• Private Commercial Institutions	500,000

2.3 Statutory Laws (Federal and *Land*)

Federal laws (*Bundesgesetze*) and regional state laws (*Landesgesetze*) both regulate adult vocational education within their jurisdiction. They are neither unified nor sufficiently coordinated, more a conglomerate of statutes and enactments with varying degrees of effectiveness. The most important are

2.3.1 Statutory Law of 1969 Concerning Employment Promotion (*Arbeitsförderungsgesetz* [AFG])

§1 says that "*measures according to this law have to be taken in accordance with the social and economic policy of the Government in order to obtain and maintain a high level of employment, to improve continually the employment structure and thereby promote the growth of the economy*".

It will be discussed later how far this law and subsequent amendments have stood up to this statement.

2.3.2 Statutory Law Concerning Vocational Training (*Berufsbildungsgesetz* 1969)

"Training Ordinances and Professional Development Ordinances together describe the system of state-acknowledged vocational qualifications...within federal jurisdiction. Its regulatory power for the crafts is based upon the Handicraft Ordinance, for all other areas upon the Vocational Training Law" (Tillmann, 1983:115).

Training Ordinances list the minimum requirements for certified vocational examinations at the level of skilled (specialist) workers and (clerical) assistants through prescribed examination procedures and overall curricula. Everyone wishing to obtain such a certificate must comply.

Professional Development Ordinances regulate vocational certification building on a first (prior) vocational qualification. The regulatory power of these ordinances is, however, much smaller than for the basic first training. Regional examination requirements are quite different, since in most cases entry qualifications only and the framework for examination requirements have been fixed. "*There are...more than 50 regulations for the professional training of the 'Handelsfachwirt' [certified commercial assistant]...there can be no question of a unified, transparent, and pervious system of professional development*" (Görs & Voigt, 1984:125).

2.4 The Teachers

No more than about 5 per cent of teacher in adult vocational education are permanently on staff in such institutions. All the other 95 per cent teach part-time or freelance, having either a full-time main job with teaching as a side-line, or they teach at various institutions. They come from all kinds of occupations and professions and are drawn into educational institutes on account of their professional competence in an area. Only one fifth of them are qualified in adult education. Their own understanding is therefore predominantly that of a subject- and skills-orientated teacher in a teacher-centred learning environment.

2.5 The Participants

The motivation to attend vocational development courses is highly influenced by the social background, sex, family situation, level of education, basic vocational training, and working conditions. Persons with low-level school or vocational certificates, working in the lower ranks of company hierarchies, are strongly underrepresented. The foremost consumers of vocational development are the educationally privileged. This means that as yet vocational development has rather reinforced unequal opportunities than reduced them.

3. The Educational and Labour Market Framework of Vocational Development

After this first survey of the colourful field, the political framework of vocational development will be outlined within which teaching and learning takes place in the

Federal Republic of Germany. This cannot be done without reviewing the years between 1965 and 1975.

3.1 Educational and Labour Market Policy: The Idea of Technical and Economic Progress

In the middle of the sixties — during a time of rapid technical and economic development, full employment, and a lack of skilled experts — education [B] was discovered as an essential factor in the growth of the economy. These were boom years for the economics of education and the human capital concept, with the proposition of higher qualifications in the workforce being generally necessary due to technological progress. This whole idea was based on a harmonious society still around today, whose proponents stated the concord of individual, economic, and societal interests. *"It was thus the ambitious aim of labour market policy and education policy to influence actively the development of all other societal areas by reshaping the education system, on the premise that vocational qualifications of the gainfully employed working population would be a decisive determinant of economic development. This thinking was reflected in various laws concerning vocational development [cf. 2.3]. With the liberal view in mind that everyone is the architect of his own future, vocational development was meant to strengthen the individual, make him more successful, and at the same time do something for the general welfare"* (Lenhardt, 1983:71f). On the authority of these aims comprehensive funding for educational activities was made possible by law, particularly the AFG (*Arbeitsförderungsgesetz*, see 2.3.1). Even politicians had not dreamt of the enthusiastic popular response. Vocational development "came in from the cold" (its marginal life) in the shadows and within two or three years was the most important sector of adult education.

This quantitative expansion was not, unfortunately, accompanied by any pedagogical reform of teaching and learning processes, nor was it possible to reach a significant portion of socially neglected or handicapped people in view of "equal opportunities" (cf. 2.5).

3.2 Educational and Labour Market Policy: The Idea of Social Policy Progress

In the middle of the seventies the lodestar of the policy changed to social policy and is still valid today. The reasons may be summed up as follows:

(1) The thesis of a general, higher qualification required by technical and technological progress proved illusive. What we could and can see is rather a polarized workforce of a comparatively small group of highly trained people in good working conditions and a much larger group handling routine work.

(2) International competition and the developments in micro-electronics led to a wave of rationalization previously unheard of and also to unexpected unemployment. The traditional remedy of "economic self-healing" did not take. Investment incentives to decrease unemployment did not work any longer by themselves. The growing or stagnant number of the jobless created a considerable pressure of justification.

The government coalition parties reacted to this new situation with incisive limitations and changes in the extent of funding of vocational training and development. A new law, AFKG (Employment Promotion Consolidation Law) as of January 1, 1982 put an end to an active labour market policy towards structural improvements. Ordinances followed with regard to "efficiency" and "economization" which influenced negatively the quality of measures within the scope of AFG-funding. Nearly all BfA-funds (from the Federal Agency for Work) are by now channeled into vocational training of the unemployed or those threatened by unemployment, of which later. This was six billion DM in 1986 (approximately $3 billion). It endangers voluntary career development and adaptation training.

Contrary to the funding aims of 1969 when a restrictive company-egoism was to be avoided, there is now a growing number of in-company training programmes benefiting from the new situation. They are used for an internal upgrading of that part of the workforce which companies wish to retain and bond.

So education and labour market policy has completed a serious change in aims. The question is no more an enlargement of personal scope by better qualifications aiming at equal opportunities *and* structural improvement of society, but the adaptation to economic developments and interests, an integration of the unemployed with the least possible conflict and a legitimization of existing crisis-prone societal structures.

4. Unemployment and Vocational Development

4.1 On the Situation of Vocational Development for the Unemployed

The actual situation of vocational development for the unemployed is the best evidence for the above-mentioned change in aims. Unlike the sixties, there are comparatively few cases of unemployment today due to lacking or wrong qualifications. Unemployment is a problem of scarce jobs. Rationalization in all areas of the economy with the help of new techniques has led to a rapid elimination of jobs. It has reached all levels of qualification and apparently has not yet peaked. In this situation on the labour market, "economic usability" of most workers and employees can hardly be enhanced, let alone be maintained. Vocational development cannot overcome unemployment. An exception is the relatively small number of unemployed who have been selected for and trained in high-tech job qualifications giving them a real job opportunity. This leads, however, to a "*social split among the army of the unemployed. While the attention of education policy is focused on a minority, the majority is left behind*" (Neumann, 1985:58).

This majority will be found in training courses supplying other qualifications but no jobs. It is the Labour Offices' task to tender such courses because they administer all funds on behalf of the Federal Agency for Work (*BfA Nürnberg*). As a rule the cheapest get the contract as long as they stick to questionable minimum requirements of rooms and teachers. Commercial firms with low overheads in personnel and equipment profit from this, for instance by hiring jobless teachers on an hourly-paid short-term contract. Educational institutes of communities or unions are faced with the problem of either withdrawing from such public tenders and thus lose part of their income, or lower the quality of their own educational courses.

The result is crammed courses in which 35-40 participants have to swallow huge amounts of new material some 36-40 hours per week, since final examinations often require testable items and skills. The ability to think, to cooperate, to communicate and other criteria of mature behavior are less in demand.

As all these efforts do not give most participants better job opportunities, this kind of vocational training and development has functions of better socializing and disciplining, and make individuals feel guilty of failing to re-integrate themselves into the work process, and to keep up the illusion of the Federal Republic being an open, performance-orientated society with unequal distribution of social opportunities, but justified because of an "objective performance measurement".

4.2 Possible Consequences

Any fight against unemployment worth its name ought to begin with changing societal and economic structures. Areas to concentrate upon should be above all the creation of new fields of work beyond the established wage earning. Dieter Mertens, former head of the Research Institute for the Labour Market and Occupations has made workable proposals as early as 1977. He recommends a shortening of working hours, a stimulus of demand directed towards the public promotion of and investment in suitable sectors like improved town sanitation, micro-technology, social services, protection of the environment, and adult education. *"Instead of promoting wear-and-tear production...ecological neutrality, mixed financing, priority of labour-(qualifications)-intensive areas, and political acceptance in view of people's needs...should be borne in mind"* (Mertens, 1977:44).

Such proposals are founded upon the conviction that jobs are indeed scarce within the established structures of our society but not work itself. The re-orientations indicted would mean decisions about the future face of Western industrial nations, decisions in favour of fairer distribution of work and income and, with it, a better chance for more people to share confidently social life on equal terms. On the other hand, if the present trend of short-sighted entrepreneurial interest in profit continues instead of structural improvements as suggested, we shall have soon a society that excludes one third of its members from all positively seen social roles.

5. Science and Vocational Training

Situation, development, and aims of vocational training are assessed quite differently by scientists, as I have said from the start (§1). Some of my colleagues, for instance, will not agree with my statements and valuations in the preceding sections. Among the scientific disciplines interested in vocational training and development (education, sociology, psychology, natural sciences, engineering, psychology of work etc.) we can distinguish three main strands:

5.1 The Belief in Engineering and Progress

Schelsky, the sociologist, has argued this scientific standpoint forcefully. His thesis is that highly developed engineering creates its own laws which we have to adapt to unless we wish to threaten our very existence. *"Political norms and laws will be replaced by intrinsic requirements of a scientific-technical civilisation which cannot be posited as political decisions and understood as norms of conviction or of Weltanschauungen. This depletes democracy as it were of its classical substance: People's political will is replaced by inherent laws created by man's own science and work"*. From this point of view the question of a critical education which would help to decide on the sense or nonsense of technical-economic developments is hopelessly outdated. Such ideas in a highly technicized society serve, if at all, *"to manipulate motives towards something that will happen anyhow according to objectively necessary viewpoints"* (Schelsky, 1965:453f).

From this position technical-economic developments fundamentally are not controllable. One can only try to perceive developmental trends in time and to adapt to them as well as possible. Vocational development and the educational system as a whole function as an instrument. *"According to the expectation that adult education could become functionally relevant in helping to get usable qualifications, theoretical patterns of arguments are used in which recurrent education is derived as a functional necessity from societal developments and adult education made the motor of technical and social progress"* (Mader, 1984:48).

Conservative politicians evidently identify easily with this train of thought. In a publication of the Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW) regarding the status and perspectives of vocational development, this very vocational development appears as *"an instrument to prevent and fight unemployment..., an instrument to fürther technological change..., and instrument of personnel policy (and)...of regional policy [e.g. for new industrial areas, W.V.]"* (*Der Bundesminister* 1984:117, 120, 122, 125, 129).

Vocational development is thus reduced to the adaptation of the workforce to the required qualifications demanded by the labour market. Power relations and interest which led to these very structures of the labour market, to these very qualifications, are out of sight, because they are anyhow subjected to uncontrollable inherent laws.

The theoretical educational-economic concept on which this frightfully effective way of thinking is based is significantly called the "human capital approach". *"The subliminally valuational...of this view is...education as something investable into progress or some societal interest."* (Mader, 1984:49).

5.2 References to Self and *Lebenswelt* ("Everyday-World" or "Life-World")

This second theoretical approach has had much less influence on the practice of vocational development than the previous one. Its supporters criticize the inhumanity of a technocratic approach and call for vocational development to move away from the narrow requirements of the occupation system and turn towards the unfolding of learning human beings' capabilities. *"Adult education means...indeed to fürnish* *personal development aid, to break up and set in motion the rigidified capability structures of working people. This requires a focus on the worker as a person and on his situation, rather than some technical innovation or scientific progress or redesigned jobs*" (Brater, 1980:80).

The demand to take seriously the subjective factor in education is linked with the demand to pay more attention to the learner's *Lebenswelt*. The individual's *Lebenswelt* outlines an interactional context to which it is bound. But he who is "*permanently embedded within such a communication field perceives situations according to criteria valid in this Lebenswelt, defines situations (including learning situations) according to the standards and rules of this Lebenswelt, forms an opinion of important and unimportant problems and anticipates a certain scope for problem solutions*" (Mollenhauer, 1976:38). It stands to reason that the success or failure of educational processes is dependent upon the consideration of participants' various *Lebenswelten* and interpretation patterns: Education, learning, and teaching essentially deal with interpretations of the situation.

The intense orientation towards the self and the *Lebenswelt* also harbours some problems and dangers. It is tempting to withdraw to clear-cut areas and groups (town quarters, neighbourhood etc.), to get easily out of touch with the societal framework, possibilities and limits of influencing it through organized learning.

There is also a danger of regarding the contents — where educational processes were meant to flourish — as second-rate and to disparage institutionalized learning which after all aims at providing definite work-related knowledge, capabilities, and skills.

5.3 The Provision of Technical and Social Competence

Representatives of a critical-constructive social and educational science like myself have as their lodestar to qualify learners for independent and mature thinking and acting. They wish to teach even-handedly (1) the required special capabilities and skills necessary to cope with societal demands, and (2) social competence described in terms of the ability to communicate, criticize, cooperate, problem-solve, and show solidarity. The complete subordination of vocational development to alleged inherently compulsory requirements of the employment system is rejected as wrong and questionable. So is the attempt to neglect the qualification requirements of the labour market in favour of a stronger reference to a (subjective) self. The relation of education system — vocational development in particular — to employment system is seen as rather a dynamic reciprocity with mutual influences. I shall now outline the tasks of such a science.

6. Consequences for the Science from a Critical-Constructive Position

A science which has made vocational development its content area and sees itself as socio-critical and practical, claiming and enlightenment valid and accessible to all

(Thiersch, 1978:101), has mainly the following tasks towards practice:

6.1 Demonstration of the Societal Framework and Interests Influencing the Design of Vocational Development

A first task is to explain that the subjection of vocational education to liberal-economic maxims serves to maintain the existing social status hierarchy with its unequal opportunities. It also makes politicians in charge withdraw from their constitutional public responsibility for democratic equality of all citizens.

A second task is to explain that the assertion of democratically uncontrollable inherent laws of technical progress is false and dangerous. It serves to maintain basically irrational and unreflected power relations which have meanwhile become a collective danger to all life because they threaten our ecological balance and destroy natural resources. A science of adult education must therefore contribute to solve the problem of "*how the force of technical disposition can be led back into the consensus of acting and negotiating citizens*" (Habermas, 1968:114).

Finally and interlocked with the above-said, it has to be made clear that the development and use of certain techniques, technologies, certain kinds of work organization, and the resulting work requirements are only in part due to technical-economic constraints. They are predominantly the outcome of political decisions, e.g. subsidizing certain kinds of technology and energy, and of profit interests and the industrial personnel policies and division of work tied in it. Indeed, recent high-tech electronics offer a wide-range potential of considerable on-the-job variations between total control and new independence and decision-making.

6.2 Social Science Research in the Interest of Dependent Employees

These possibilities point to an urgent research task in the interest of dependent employees. Since the possibilities for action on the job are an essential determinant for the social situation of working people, research ought to begin with it. This means "*a shift in the interest-to-know relative to economic analyses of workforce requirements: from the workforce requirement of employers to the social meaning of employment changes for the workforce concerned*" (Baethge, 1980:105). Such a research would have to examine ways of alternative approaches to techniques and work organization in cooperation with educational economics, industrial sociology, psychology of work, and production engineering. It should aim at dismantling hierarchies, enriching jobs, expanding co-determination and elaborating necessary qualifications.

An innovative labour market, occupational, and qualifications research would also have to develop activities outside the established structures of paid labour (cf. 4.2) and to elaborate the qualifications necessary there. The actual vocational development as yet entangled in traditional structures of work and its qualifications could receive a new impetus from such research. It could foremost seize the opportunity to rid itself of its present helplessness towards the problems of goal-setting and content of vocational development for the unemployed.

6.3 Didactic Guidelines

The use of job enrichment, job enlargement, co-determination and the development of new activities require corresponding capabilities among the employed, and this in turn requires a vocational development of a different quality. Science has to provide didactic guidelines for the design of such teaching-learning processes. The following ideas would provide guidelines for a toolkit of such identity-, reflection-, and maturity-enhancing teaching and learning:

- To enhance awareness that different aims of vocational development comprise different interest-bound evaluations of social situations and widely differing views on the tasks of education and of well-educated people.
- To further insight into widely varying criteria of content-selection and -structuring according to goals set.
- To enhance awareness of inseparably interlocked goal-setting, content selection, and chosen teaching methods. The widest possible repertory is to be provided: Learning and teaching methods enhancing identity and maturity (project-orientated, problem-centred, participant-orientated teaching and learning etc.).
- Making aware of the connection between socialization and learning. People of different socialization in families, schools, jobs will show different learning behavior in vocational development courses. This has to be interpreted correctly and considered in course designs.
- The importance of interaction processes for learning is to be highlighted. Since interaction processes can help or hinder learning and identity-finding, more attention is required to intragroup and intergroup behavior.
- Open curricula for different vocational course tracks must be developed; teaching and learning aids must be prepared permitting choice of content, methods, and media to the teaching staff.

These guidelines can all be summed up in a demand for an integration of general, political, and vocational education. The goal of such integrated educational processes has been suggested: it is an individual capable of reflecting and acting, capable and willing to improve jointly with others the working and living conditions (cf. 1 and 5.3).

Two curtailments and misjudgements have to be avoided on the way to this end: *"It would not be enough, just to add political enlightenment onto unchanged technical-instrumental handling, (and) it would be an inversion of the postulate of integration if technical-instrumental requirements would simply serve as a vehicle for the political consciousness-raising really intended"* (Faulstich, 1981:128).

7. Conclusions

The tasks for a critical-constructive science outlined above and for a vocational development practice directed towards independent thinking and acting have been tackled ever more seriously in recent years. Humane design in engineering is gaining emphasis as a research focus. Many state-funded trial projects have successfully brought about an integrated education with concurrent vocational, political, and social competencies.

This should not detract from the fact that by far the most areas of economic, labour market, and education policies — including vocational development — are dominated by technocratic-economistic thinking with its narrow teaching and learning methods. On the other hand, it is obvious that the public discussion about central and existential questions such as protection of the environment, quality of life, unemployment, and the future structure of the world of work, does not easily submit any longer to such views. Whether this will lead to any positive change in policies and education is an open question.

Vocational development committed to the position outlined above has to see to it here and now, in theory and practice, that as many people as possible — with their critical, communicative, and action-capacity — can participate in the debate about the future face of our society.

Postscript

Some more recent federal data do not change the general picture. By the end of 1990 the Bremen Senator for Work and Occupation, Department 4, *Landesamt für Weiterbildung*, Katharinenstr. 12-14, 2800 Bremen 1, has published the amended version of *Strukturdaten 1987/88*, a complete 28 pp. breakdown of all educational institutions in Bremen on record: their teaching hours, the participants across the three education sections (political, vocational, general education) in absolute and relative terms for 1987 and 1988 including charts, tables, and comparative figures since 1975, available on demand, free of charge, for research purposes [M.H.].

Summary: *A short contribution cannot deal with all the intricacies of the highly differentiated and contradictory area of vocational development. There is instead a first outline of the scope, courses, agencies, institutions, and fundamental laws of the field. The development of the education and labour market framework and its policies during the last 30 years are sketched. Unemployment as a problem and challenge for vocational courses is another section.*

Concluding remarks seek to clarify the relationship of scientific disciplines and vocational development. The beliefs in technique and progress, orientation towards self and everyday world, participative action and self-assertion are presented as different approaches. My own view tries to derive consequences from a critical-constructive understanding of "science" regarding the tasks of theory, practice and didactics.

A Note on the Author

Wilfried Voigt, Professor Dr. phil., born in 1931. Teacher at the Hamburg Vocational School for the Building Trade from 1963 to 1968. The teaching assistant in the sub-department of Vocational and Economics Education, University of Hamburg, 1968 to 1971. Assistant Professor 1971 to 1975, University of Hamburg. From 1975 to 1978 Associate Professor in the Institute for Education and Social Sciences at the Technical University of Berlin. Professor of Vocational Education and Development, University of Bremen, since 1978.

I was born into a family of traditional craftsmanship. There was not much choice after the war. I left school at fourteen and became a mason, later a civil engineer in industry. I quit eventually to go to university for a degree in vocational education. All these years I had been science-minded and believed in the feasibility and computability of things. Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker's lectures on the philosophical problems of modern science opened up a completely different new world. Later, having studied Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Jürgen Habermas, I learned that science and applied science are not neutral, indifferent to various human interests. Two books by Habermas left a lasting imprint: *Erkenntnis und Interesse* (Knowledge and Human Interest) (1968) and *Technik und Wissenschaft als Ideologie* (Technology and Science as an Ideology) (1968); and so did — on a personal level — professor Friedrich Edding (Berlin), my later mentor and friend, in his unwavering belief in the human ability to learn and to develop, his dedicated efforts to make educational science more practicable and to draw in more adult and middle-aged students.

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Adult Education as a Vocation: Lay Job or Profession?

Roswitha Peters

Adult education/continuing education (AE/CE), meaning organized teaching and learning of and with adults, is socially and individually seen as generally desirable and even necessary. Unlike organized teaching and learning with children and youths however, education of adults by professional educators is not yet common.

Even within the heterogeneous area of AE/CE it is controversial whether adult education should be made a specific and regular job. From the beginnings of its institutionalization around the turn of the century until now adult education has been and still is carried out by people for the most part neither trained nor prepared for it. It is the main occupation of comparatively few; most of them work freelance as a sideline, in recent years increasingly without any other job, but it is difficult to survive by freelancing alone. Will AE/CE as a profession always keep certain features of the irregular (Pöggeler, 1968:106)? What has become of the professionalization endeavors during the seventies? Is professionalism of AE/CE educators on their job necessary?

It is my intention to facilitate answers to these and similar questions by the following outline of (a) the path the profession has taken hitherto, (b) the elaboration of some aspects of professionalism now, (c) the description of how I understand professionalism in AE/CE.

AE/CE in this chapter shall comprise publicly recognized institutions available to each and every adult, excluding those company- and association-bound, commercially or alternatively organized.

The reader will benefit from also reading the thirty-two pages of Max Weber's 1919 talk to young students on the academic scholar as a professional (Wissenschaft als Beruf), with his frequent comparisons to the different "American" situation. See his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* in the "Annotated Bibliography" in the Appendix.

1. From the Folk Educator to the Educational Employee

According to the occupational sociologists Beck, Brater, and Daheim (1980), there are two reasons in political and economic constitutional free-enterprise societies for the rise of professional occupations: Either the professional satisfaction of a need or the solution of a problem will yield an economic profit, or a matter must have stood the test of being acknowledged — by the state, the churches, or the big associations — as a public concern, in order to be dealt with by a profession so called (1980:248).

If we take Article 148 of the Weimar Constitution as an indicator of adult education being a public concern, then indeed the requisites for the rise of such a profession were present in 1920: *"Institutes of adult education, including adult education centres (Folk-High-Schools), shall be assisted by the State [Reich], Lands, and communities"*.

In fact, there had been earlier attempts to professionalize the organized education of adults, e.g. by employing circulating teachers in the labour movement. A typical form of professionalized adult education in the Weimar Republic was the full-time management of newly founded Adult Education Centres (AECs) and Residential Schools where the educational work itself was done part-time and in an honorary capacity.

With regard to adult education, full-time management remained the characteristic form of professionalization in the Federal Republic of Germany until the fifties and early sixties — a process *"which had at its core a shift from an activity without any pay and specific training to one that—from a certain point on—became paid to such an extent that the person on this job can live off it"* (Weinberg, 1980:403).

Who was qualified for a full-time job in adult education or — to use a better phrase suitable for the Weimar Republic — who was destined to work as a folk educator? As it was then understood, folk education — including those involved in it — had the task of integrating all social strata into a novel political-cultural and democratic community. "Folk formation by folk education" was a catch-phrase of the day. Folk education had "*at its core the social, the community question*" (Rosenstock, 1920:77).

The folk educator's job was understood as a political-educational one requiring — similar to that of a politician's — an outstanding personal commitment, wide experience in various spheres of life, eloquence, and proven competence in another occupation. *"The precondition for becoming a folk educator is the exertion (past or present) of a skilled job with intellectual penetration. He must be a cobbler sticking to any last...It is part of any education to have expert knowledge anywhere. The mere popularizer, if there is one, is not qualified at all for folk education"* (Rosenstock, 1920:96).

Systematic vocational training or preparation of the folk educators was rejected more or less expressly for reasons once again presented in detail by Schulenberg (1972:8ff.). One reason was the assessment of folk education as having a temporary, compensatory function, irrelevant once it had fulfilled its educational and political task. Another reason was the apprehension — which continues to be felt today — of folk education leading to a schooling with an implied childlike immaturity of adults should it ever become a standardized societal activity.

After the national-socialist phase (1933-45) and World War II (1939-45) these ideas continued at first in spite of a fundamental change in the adult education framework and a shift in the professional view from a predominantly political orientation directed towards the whole to a cultural one implying a marked tone of cultural pessimism and one centred upon the individual. In the words of Erich Weniger (1952): *"If there must not be a specific professional preparation for the folk educator, the prior knowledge of his tasks, though, (is a requisite)...He is the interpreter of the living life for his fellow men who trust him, he is the representative of the acting world, but also the bearer of a counter-effect against an evil and degenerate world. He is the translator of the formed world of intellect transferring it to his listeners' sphere"* (1952:513).

Public consciousness had not yet caught hold of continuous organized further learning as a consensual ensemble of adult roles. Institutionalized adult education ranked less as a societal necessity than as a cultivated leisure activity — for participants, planners, and teachers alike. Then, as before, no reason was seen for an extensive professionalization of adult education jobs done part-time or unpaid most of the time.

In its 1960 inquiry *Zur Situation und Aufgabe der deutschen Erwachsenenbildung* (Concerning the Situation and Task of German Adult Education) (Deutscher Ausschuß, 1960), the German Committee for Instruction and Education at least directed attention to the education of adults as a profession and said that *"the occupation of popular education can be a full-time or part-time job. It does not necessarily require the knowledge and experience of the teaching profession. It is indeed desirable that members of many occupations work in adult education, teaching and educating. Academicians among popular educators should have a degree and manifold practical experiences. In general it its desirable that popular educators have educational skills, expert knowledge and ability, independent judgement, far-sightedness, personal resoluteness, sober-mindedness, and cosmopolitanism...It is decisive for the success of all endeavors concerning our potential new colleagues that the function of popular educators is publicly acknowledged. This new occupation requiring a versatile talent, much strength and time, has not yet been firmly incorporated in our occupational system. The popular educator must gain due respect by his attitude and performance according to his task in society. But society should also hold his occupation in such esteem, paying him enough to secure his living beyond making it a transitional job for capable human beings or an outlet for failures"* (Deutscher Ausschuß, 1960:33).

The shape and development of the profession was meant to be due partly to the professionals themselves, partly to society's support. A perceivable societal or educational-policy interest in the profession became a fact only when education, learning, and qualifications were ranked higher in terms of societal development, particularly in international economic competitiveness. In the mid-sixties, with the first economic recession in the background, a simultaneous "German educational catastrophe" diagnosed by scientists, and a certain weariness of the prevailing political-cultural restoration, education and qualification were increasingly regarded as productive economic factors, as essential requisites of necessarily flexible and mobile working people ("human capital"), but also as a foundation of a democratic society ("daring democracy").

Various measures were now introduced to make possible lifelong learning for all, talent support by opening up second and third chances of education and cross-overs. For the first time ideas of education and learning needs of the adult population were researched representatively (Strzelewicz et al., 1966) and the outcome used as a frame of reference for the planning of adult education courses.

Eventually, in the late sixties, systematic, certification-orientated medium- and long-term learning and qualification programmes for adults marked the so-called "realistic turn" of German adult education. At the same time professional requirements for adult educators grew more complex. The addressees were no longer now "the people" as such, but increasingly target-groups from various social strata of the adult population definable according to sociological, political, and psychological criteria. Coping with professional tasks apparently required educational-political and educational-sociological research and planning competencies, psychological and didactical knowledge and skills. The connection of rather casual knowledge and skills with personal experience and commitment as a foundation for professional activities was regarded as insufficient and unsuitable for the job. Slowly the typical popular educator by calling or as a hobby vanished in favour of the full-time educational employee with a college or university degree who found an interesting and — in the beginning seventies — also politically relevant professional area. But soon an arbitrary scientific training would no longer be sufficient in view of specific professional tasks. It was then, from about 1970 onwards, that German colleges and universities began to train "*Diplompädagogen*" with a major in adult education. This new possibility of specific scientific qualifications for young professional talents corresponded with a meanwhile distinct and often-voiced desire by adult education associations and institutions: As early as 1963 a Lower-Saxon Study Group for Questions of Adult Education had asked for an independent university-based study course for full-time adult educators (Schulenberg, 1972:18ff.), but this happened also for at least one other reason: status acquisition as a scientific policy. It also happened largely without cooperation and mutual consultation expected by adult education practitioners. The relationship between the new science of adult education and an essential part of educational practice thus became problematic.

The *Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen* (Planned Structure for Education) published in 1970 by the German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1970) proposed a new conception for the whole sector of education, and further education — as adult education was programmatically called from now on — got a fresh impetus because it was drafted for the first time as an independent educational area of equal rank. Nearly all of the lands in the Federal Republic have since enacted adult education or continuing education laws, some including educational leave provisions regulating and granting financial aid for AE/CE to an extent previously unknown. This permitted the institutional expansion of AE/CE and employment of comparatively large numbers of full-time educational employees. Their numbers in AECs grew ten times between 1970 and 1980 (Gerhard, 1980:22ff.).

During this decade of increasing institutionalization and occupationalization, a parallel tendency of professionalization was recorded according to standard vocational sociology criteria (Vath, 1975):

- Typical job descriptions for various full-time occupations were prepared (Weinberg, 1980:416ff.).
- Special scientific qualifications seemed absolutely necessary for professional activities.
- More and more colleges/universities tried to teach vocational-professional qualifications in either pre-job or job-concomitant programmes in accordance with scientific vocational training and adult education became a subject of scientific research.
- AE/CE statutory laws regulated minimum requirements for vocational work and set standards for its societal recognition.

Up to now, unfortunately, there are no binding regulations for an access to the profession, nor are there indications of a developing common professional self-image and task-orientation of members which could serve as an ethical foundation.

AE/CE practitioners and the scientific community of adult education have hotly debated from time to time whether professionalization and institutionalization are meaningful at all. Some thought free-floating inappropriate professional interest in salience gained the upper hand of students, others regarded it as a requisite for an educational work in favour of participants comparatively independent of agency interests (e.g. Dieckmann, 1976:127ff., and Schulenberg, 1972:18).

Weinberg evaluated the past achievement of adult education service structures as professionalization of adult education being already in effect, although it should be supplemented and extended by a systematic scientific training for typical jobs (1980:420ff.). This definitional equation in my opinion was and is incorrect, but its implicit reference to deficiencies in systematic adult education knowledge is pertinent to the professional reality. The qualitative expression of successful professionalization — professionality — has hardly inspired debates, reflections, or research in spite of all recent arguments. Tietgens' statement that professionality in adult education is undeveloped and professionalization not yet achieved remained uncontradicted (1986:44). The following reasons beyond those suggested are worth considering:

- In the late seventies, accompanied by an economic crisis, an ongoing stagnation in the funding and development of the whole education system began which has directly concerned AE/CE: Few posts have since been offered to full-time educational employees.

- The high rate of unemployment made many AE/CE institutions look for and accept various social-pedagogical and socio-political tasks connected with vocational retraining and qualification. This was funded by the state rather generously, but hardly contributed to the development of a distinct professional interpretation of tasks among employees. The prospect of being able to contribute directly to the improvement of shortcomings and societal deformations was tempting many, instead of waiting for the rather indirect effect of educational work and trusting in voluntary self-development of adults, their abilities, as well as their self-assertion in private and co-determination in public life.
- The science of adult education was fully occupied with the training of its own young talents, who had little prospects. It could not provide much scientific help for practical problems in AE/CE, although this was expected. Unfulfilled, mutual expectations leading to a disturbed relationship of theory and practice are Tietgens's words for a failed professionalization process (Tietgens, 1986:44).

At the end of this decade the duality of full- and part-timers in teaching jobs and full-timers in planning and organizing is a structural characteristic. Both the predominantly teaching and the predominantly planning and organizing employees basically are engaged in adult education jobs which few of them have ever learned beforehand. These "*laymen as experts*" (Jütting, 1987:8) bear a label in German with an inappropriate meaning (literally: pedagogical co-workers), since they do not help educate children but adults. The term is an awkward expression of conceptual endeavors — unhampered by ideology — to separate didactical intentions from administrative work in the AE/CE area. The whole development from "folk educator" to "educational employee" still leaves open the hankering for a professional consolidation of AE/CE work and a suitable word for it.

2. Aspects of the Professional Situation

In recent years AE/CE courses have gained not only proclaimed but real importance in society, but aims and contents, forms of institutionalization and professionalization have changed considerably compared with the seventies. Increasing privatization and commercialization, full-time educational work for a fixed period, an increase in private educational work based on Labour Exchange funds, primacy of vocational and job-directed over political and general education are just a few examples that fit well into the political framework provided by the conservative-free democratic coalition government. It sees AE/CE less as a public task than as a shopping bag in an "*open continuing education market... subject to competitive forces*" where it has to appeal to "*the responsible adult...who has a say in form and content of the course through his demand*" (Der Bundesminister, 1985:6, 9).

As long as the demand is satisfactory it is consistent with this view and also with observable reality if not much attention is paid to the manufacture and quality of the "product", thus avoiding cost, unless strong interests in society take a different view.

This, at least, would be an additional explanation for the obvious disinterest in professional development — in contrast to the societal importance of AE/CE — diagnosed by Schlutz (1988). His suspicion is that *"professionalizing adult and continuing education is unwanted by society! If we understand by professionalization not only to get a job or a better routine on the job, but the education of groups and individuals with a certain ethos, with an awareness of one's own competence and not least one's limitations, then such a development looks as if it is objectively unwanted, because it would run counter to the functionalization of continuing education as it can be observed now"* (p.9).

Ironically speaking this situation is in line with many a critic of professionalization in the seventies, who of course argued against it with other reasons and political intentions (e.g. Dieckmann, 1976).

2.1 The Staff

The grand total of AE/CE-people in institutions, company departments, organizations, initiatives, projects etc. dealing with the planning, implementation, and evaluation of adult education courses is unknown. A good estimate is between 5,000 and 7,000 for full-timers, and 200,000 to 400,000 for part-timers/freelancers. A 1980 *Wörterbuch der Weiterbildung* (Dictionary of Adult Education) estimated the number of course leaders and full-timers to be about 4,500, and of part-timers around 140,000 (Dahm et al., 1980:361). No doubt the numbers have risen; particularly the latter one.

Nobody else but the German Adult Education Association (*Deutscher VHS-Verband*) publishes regular statistics cf staffing levels. According to the latest 1987 statistics this largest educational association employed:

472 full-time AEC-directors,
2,511 full-time educational staff,
136,770 part-time/freelance educational staff.

The ratio of full-timers to part-timers (excluding centre directors) is therefore about 1:54 (disregarding hours spent on the job).

Similar, even more unfavourable, ratios will be found in other areas of institutionalized, publicly funded AE/CE. Hardly any other area in society offers so many part-time and time-limited jobs for graduates of all disciplines and is so attractive. Graduates of educational studies with a major in AE/CE apparently are not preferred at all. An analysis of job vacancies offered between 1976-1980 (in the weekly *DIE ZIET*) showed that 35 only out of 1,313 required such a diploma (Peters-Tatusch, 1981:100).

During a scientific conference in 1987 on "The Situation of Work in Adult Education As a Challenge to Studies, Professional Training, and Research" (Schlutz & Siebert, 1988) the situation and structure of staff in AE/CE was seen thus:

(1) In the area of full-time educational employees: In recent years various agencies and institutions have eliminated permanent posts for lack of funding. At the same time there has been a larger increase in employees working on

projects, particularly in large city AECs, funded by work procurement measures and third-party funds.

(2) *In the area of part-timers: The number of part-time course leaders has intentionally been reduced in recent years in favour of jobless graduates who, however, are engaged on a contract basis.*

(3) *Apart from these two classical staff categories there is — in some larger educational institutions — the adult education teacher, doing a full-time job with tenure and fringe benefits. For some time, moreover, full-time social pedagogues are employed in AE/CE.*

(4) *A new type of professional is the "new self-employed" who earn their money as course directors usually at various institutions or are both course directors and consultants working for fees only* (Frischkopf, 1988:175-76).

Such a staffing situation and structure hardly admits of any professional perspective beyond the immediate job requirements. The resulting job attitudes, satisfaction, and quality of working life would require a separate inquiry.

2.2 Tasks

Staff structure and division of work in AE/CE are closely connected, as mentioned before: Administrative work and didactical planning require steady, long-term work by full-time employees. An up-to-date, versatile, and flexible conversion of educational courses into lectures and other kinds of teaching cannot be done by the small number of full-timers. The employment of a great many half-timers and freelancers for fixed periods of teaching is therefore a requisite. the introduction of a permanent "adult education teacher" in some large towns, cities, and institutions has overall changed little of the historically grown division of work. Fürthermore, I do not think that a solidification by a professionalization of individual, closely connected educational actions is desirable, because any segmentation of work would make institutional and agency relations more untidy and favour alienation from one's own work — for both exclusively teaching and exclusively planning staff.

A valid job description — specifying tasks independent of institutions — covering the whole area of AE/CE has been impossible to draw up because of the wide variations and heterogeneity of institutions, agencies, political views, *weltanschauungen*, their aims, contents, and methods of educational work, their differing sizes and equipment. But we can list more or less general task emphases of full-time AE/CE work derived from professional monographs and analyses of job vacancies (Pröpper et al., 1975; Vath, 1979; Peters-Tatusch, 1981) available in detailed descriptions from the German Adult Education Centres Association and covering their own organization (Tietgens, 1976; Der Bundesminister, 1973). They are:

- managing institutions, departments, or projects;
- planning educational programmes/offerings;

- organizing courses, public relations, and educational policy activities;
- hiring, advising, professional updating of the teaching staff;
- giving advice to participants.

Occasional teaching often is part of such and similar full-time jobs, but usually not self-evident except at residential centres. On the whole professional work in AE/CE is done according to Tietgens (1981:31)

- in the context of a societal framework,
- within the horizon of institutional requirements,
- in more of less distinct areas of tasks and learning,
- with regard to educational courses,
- in touch with teaching and learning processes.

In so far as professional action is above all planning action — this is a fact — there are tasks on various levels that need interconnections among conditions and effects on these levels of action. The tasks summed up and related to job requirements are:

- to analyses the conditions of the societal framework,
- to reflect on institutional connections,
- to find enough scope for the planning of learning,
- to prepare courses,
- to put into practice teaching and learning processes (Tietgens, 1981:31).

2.3 Qualifications

No recent information is available about the formal qualifications and actual competences of staff in AE/CE. A survey covering the Federal Republic (Gerhard, 1980:57, 62) found that nearly two thirds of all full-time educational employees had degrees mostly from the following departments:

• Social sciences (excluding education)	18.2%
• Languages/linguistics	17.2%
• Education science	15.3%

College/university education seems to be a characteristic qualification for AE/CE. This corresponds with the fact that 64.4% of advertisements for full-timers in AE/CE ask for a degree as a job entry requirement (Peters-Tatusch, 1981:98). Implications can be drawn from such analyses and employee reports as to what abilities are thought to be necessary or desirable. Three abilities stand out in general:

- to be able to convert a discipline or specific subjects into educational programmes and processes for certain target groups.
- to contact and communicate, to show initiative, to commit oneself, to cooperate (1981:114-15).
- Free agencies like unions and churches often seek political, religious, or other attitudes similar to their own, including loyalty (1981:110).

In view of the expected predominance of full-timers' planning function a supraregional University Reform Committee recommended in 1984 that students of education (*Diplompädagogen*) with a major in AE/CE should receive scientific training in that area and also "*ability to teach in at least one specific discipline or an interdisciplinary ability to work with target groups (parents, foreigners, senior citizens, etc.). This is necessary even if the professional does not teach regularly; for the credibility of his training and developing part-time teachers is closely linked to his own competence in at least an exemplary way of a discipline or target group. Another thorough qualification required is the ability to advise and counsel on education, learning, crises etc. These three areas of competence are to be studied in equal emphasis so that the professional andragogue is up to present and future demands and developments*" (Sekretariat, 1984:63).

One of the important professional preconditions of such a vocation is — according to the Reform Committee — a general interpersonal competence (the ability to interact, to communicate, awareness of self and others, thoughtfulness). Its foundation is the acquisition of various distinct, task-orientated educational and social science knowledge, an ethical attitude, and proven action patterns, such as educational planning for AE/CE (Sekretariat, 1984:50ff.). Whether and to what extent the some thirty German colleges/universities devoted to the training of *Diplompädagogen* with a major in AE/CE effectively provide this professional andragogical competence is an open question in various respects:

- AE/CE is a comparatively young science. It is doubtful whether it can offer original knowledge for professional activities; for the creation of knowledge by research has as yet taken a back seat to the tasks of training and developing (Schlutz, 1988:13-14).
- It is doubtful whether college/university scientists teaching and researching AE/CE agree that professional activity in AE/CE is to a large degree didactical. This makes uncertain the importance of educational science for the university training and development of AE/CE professionals.
- There seems to be no sufficient mutual consideration nor cooperation between science and practice of AE/CE necessary for the competence to act as a professional.

Independent study and other forms of employee development, job-related inductions, and correspondence courses have long had a firm place in the practice of AE/CE. They may be useful in developing AE/CE professionals but it is an open question how far they contribute to a job-independent, specifically professional competence.

2.4 Professional Self-Image

Professional self-conceptions are overall important (a) for the perception of professional requirements and how they are dealt with, (b) for the professional self-confidence, and (c) the job-image presented to the outside. They are little researched, and there is also no professional association expressing and exchanging AE/CE views. In talks and debates it is indicative of employed professionals and scientists both having difficulties to describe the essentials of andragogy in simple terms. It is therefore true that "*adult education suffers strongly from being talked about on a general political level, but* *those doing the real work do not take part, do not have a say"* (Tietgens, 1988a:89).

During an exploratory inquiry by Gieseke (1988: 248-250) full-time educational employees — asked for their work profile — said that the major part was organizational rather than educational, the latter being properly speaking a teaching job. A closer look reveals, says Gieseke, that the so-called organizational is indeed didactical planning, but those on the job do not see their work like that. If interviewees all the same interpret their work as pedagogical, this is more an expression of an everyday ability to communicate and assert oneself than a thoughtful understanding of education, which as a scientific discipline or university qualification does not enjoy a good reputation among educational employees.

But even a more positive and ruminative relation of full-timers with education as a scientific discipline and qualification (which would include a conception of didactics) would leave in doubt another corollary of Gieseke's and Tietgens': AE/CE full-timers *"being not fully aware of their professional competence"* (Tietgens, 1988b:30), because interviewees labelling the majority of their work "organizational" are perhaps closer to reality than an up-market term of "didactical planning"; for as a highly complex and professionally competent activity didactical planning can hardly be imagined without a corresponding consciousness. The "organizational", on the other hand, seems to be more in line with a pre-professional activity and interpretation of AE/CE work. More of a hindrance for the development of a professional self-image is probably not only a real lack of professionality but also an inconsiderate view of the educational task by educational institutions themselves, which often enough call a "task" what attracts the most funds.

3. Professionality in Adult Education/Continuing Education

Occupational sociology has postulated two standard qualities (knowledge and skills) inherent in any professional activity:

(a) to relate complex, relatively abstract knowledge (theory) to situations requiring actions and to apply it according to specific patterns or rules;

(b) to recognize and ponder the universal, typical in individual cases and situations, and to classify it theoretically (always subject to revised explanations).

There is as yet little of such professionality in AE/CE. It is even doubtful whether and to what extent it is desirable and what should be its focus (Schiersmann, 1988); for as mentioned before AE/CE was temporarily seen as *"the least institutionalized and professionalized area of education becoming the crucial moot of deschooling, deprofessionalization, and de-institutionalization"* (Strunk, 1988:107). This controversy was kindled by status-bound, constructivist ideas of professionalization, particularly those coming from American sociology which, some feared, would promote efforts to install an expert elite of ideologically legitimated power also in this area.

Recent theoretical considerations rather point to another direction: a profession being constituted as a highly complex occupation hardly subject to democratic control is justified only if a functionally necessary minimum of societal productivity, rationality and sociality is not guaranteed without its professional contribution to a solution of a societal necessity (Koring, 1987). Where to find the master gauge for such minimum cannot and shall not be discussed here, but I would tackle the question whether AE/CE as a doubtless necessary societal task does require occupational professionality. Established professions occasionally evince dubious attitudes like an expert cult or showing off income and prestige. I do not underestimate them as unpleasant accessories, but they are less of a threat to the quality of AE/CE in general and to the development of a professional stance in particular, the main threat being the fact that nearly everyone can become an AE/CE expert if he or she has a particular competence just in demand.

3.1 Reasons for an AE/CE Professionality

Whether professionality is required for an adequate handling of the societal task called AE/CE depends on the complexity of demands made on those who deal with the task. How it is interpreted and how complex the demands actually are, would be a matter for an intense inquiry into work and occupation to clarify better than in the past. At present there is *one* suitable answer to the initial query, namely that of a structural-theoretic task definition for AE/CE and an analysis of actions structures and requirements for educational employees in teaching/learning situations by Schmitz (1983). As I see it, he describes organized AE/CE as one form of social intervention among others like psychotherapy and counselling, all contributing specifically to (re)construct the personal integrity of adults. AE/CE having thus the function to make available through organized educational courses personal knowledge which is necessary for the foundation of morally adequate and factually right decisions of adults, but can no more be acquired by direct perception, everyday talks, or self-instruction.

Since apart from education, various other interests play a role in such courses — for instance, advice or even therapy — the professional performance and achievement of full-time employees would include a definition of the situation and a necessity to distinguish adult education from advice/counselling or therapy in practical terms. This would render their job more difficult than that of a counsellor or psychotherapist.

As things are, the didactical aspect of AE/CE courses is one of many dealt with by full-timers. Others like didactical planning, educational policy, organizational, staffing questions and tasks indeed are very demanding professional requirements, particularly if the task of AE/CE is seen — e.g. by Schmitz (1983) — as not only to rectify societal deficits, but also to be an innovative, creative, and critical activity reflecting work, politics, and culture. In addition, AE/CE's task should be to motivate people to design and shape their own and also public life with imagination.

Such work requires comprehensive knowledge and skills on a high level covering different areas like educational science, psychology, sociology, history, economics and management, plus the core discipline represented. It includes the ability to evaluate one's own competence and limitations, to ponder critically on multiple requirements and possibly to reject some, to keep aloof from constant excessive demands with their negative consequences for oneself and others. This requires a clear idea about one's own professional tasks, roles, and ethical implications, an idea which could contribute to an absolutely indispensable respect of other persons' self-responsibility and everyday world.

Without such a professionality — it seems to me — adults and task-orientated educational work based on science is hardly possible any longer.

3.2 Characteristics of an AE/CE Professionality

Professionality expresses itself in professional action, the "*outstanding structural place where theory and practice are mediated*" (Dewe & Ferchhoff, 1988:96) essentially by three characteristics (Keil et al., 1981:29ff.):

- the cognitive mastery of *task-specific knowledge*,
- the practical mastery of *task-specific action-patterns*
- a reflected role-behavior expressing one's mastery of a *task-specific self-concept*.

AE/CE employees will therefore have, for example

- knowledge about societal functional conditions, historical and international connections (e.g. economic and social structures, income and capital distributions, education system and the distribution of educational opportunities, the political and law systems);
- knowledge about addressees and participants of AE/CE (e.g. their social situation and patterns of interpretation, effects of socialization and education, learning abilities and learning interests);
- knowledge of one specific subject area relevant for AE/CE (e.g. languages, techniques, media, economics, the arts, politics);
- knowledge of adult- and task-orientated didactics (e.g. how to discover learning interests, how to reduce and redesign learning contents, various teaching methods);
- knowledge about the functioning of institutions and administrations (e.g. hierarchies, delegation, organizational processes, personnel).

Professional action patterns of AE/CE employees would comprise — according to action levels — specific interaction styles, techniques of gathering and processing information, teaching styles, and others. During courses this would result in an interaction with participants conducive to learning, enlarging knowledge and competencies and avoiding projections or fixations. In the planning stage of programmes or courses this could lead to effective methods of finding relevant data. In public life or on committees the ability to reason about educational policy would be a professional action pattern.

Part of a professional role behavior would eventually be some masterful independence based on professional competence and the certainty to do a good job for continuing education of others and for society as a whole. Authenticity and individuality would be perceivable due to an intentional distinction between person and role.

3.3 Requisites for the Development of AE/CE-Professionality

The development of professionality is feasible only when theory and practice are combined. Neither successful professional socialization processes nor scientific training can generate professionality on their own. They are each a precondition of the potential common development. The decoupling of training and employment system may — in the case of AE/CE — ease mutual tensions (Schäffter's proposal in 1988:188), but if AE/CE is to become an occupation with professional standards, such tensions must be borne, even used as a productive momentum to mutual avail. This claim of course is the crux of past endeavors towards professionalization:

AE/CE-scientists note again and again practitioners' disinterest in scientific findings and insights or even hostility to theory (Siebert, 1979:103ff.).

AE/CE-employees often raise the point verbally that science does not listen enough to practitioners' problems, does hardly present applicable research, and that AE/CE-graduates have qualifications of little practical relevance.

Although such reciprocal criticism has overtones of unrealistic ideas about the relative effectiveness and function of theory and practice, there are enough genuine reasons for a science of AE/CE to ask whether *"it has done its job properly in the past and will be existing at all in the future. For at least the creation of the diploma course has not been based on an internal scientific differentiation or on proven expectable requirements, but rather with a fictitious professional-field-orientation of colleges and universities. Not only factually, but also argumentatively has the science of adult education been founded on an expected professionalization of the practice ground"* (Schlutz, 1988:11).

AE/CE practice has also every reason for asking whether some of its shortcomings do not originate in a lack of scientific foundation (Tietgens, 1986:45). For as a science of AE/CE without sufficient practical relevance has to struggle with survival and legitimation, so AE/CE practice may become anachronistic without sufficient scientific and qualificatory equipment. The joint development of professionality would therefore be beneficial not only to the education of adults, but also for the self-development of both the science and practice of AE/CE.

In contrast to Schäffter (1988:198) I do not think it naive that the study of AE/CE could be a suitable avenue to practice as long as university education aims at professional knowledge. Other induction training in the course of any AE/CE studies would require didactical competence, thoughts about the potential professional role and its ethical implications, all supposedly connected with longer, science-guided practical field work, unless those concerned are meant to carry the burden of trial-and-error procedures in later professional life.

Whether it will be possible to develop an AE/CE professionality is ultimately a question of educational policy to that end and its funding. It is also a question of the professionals' will to organize, make public their achievements and claims, and defend their interests in defining their own framework.

Summary: *Adult education as a vocational activity as yet hardly shows the characteristic features of professionality. Apart from the historical development of the profession itself, reasons and causes lie (a) in resistance in educational and professional policies, and (b) in the current state and relationship of the theory and practice of adult education. If, however, such a complex and demanding work of personal and societal relevance continues to keep its lay status, negative outcomes for all involved and for adult education as a societal area of education are unavoidable. The remedy would be a collaborative effort of theory and practice to develop a specific adult education professionality, requiring of all professionals for instance cognitive and practical competencies to act accordingly and to dispose of a self-image adequate for all tasks on the job.*

A Note on the Author

Roswitha Peters, Diplom-Pädagogin, born in 1947. A staff member of the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen, since 1979, she has published articles on professional development and educational theory in adult education and is official adviser for the practical training during the six-months project (cf. Appendix: University Regulations).

Having studied at two universities (Hamburg and Hannover) many people and books had a lasting influence on me, but Professor Dr. Horst Siebert (Hannover), my academic teacher, stands out as a human being whose sound advice, willingness to help, and creative wisdom I appreciated most (and still do).

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Part II
Target Groups

Feminist Target Groups as a Form of Work

Wiltrud Gieseke

1. The Target Groups Concept

From the perspective of adult education planning and acting, educating women is target group work. Such educational courses are not open to everyone, but limited to a certain population. Target group work — according to Mader (1979) — intends to create a special relationship between institutionalized adult education and a defined group. In planning such group work primarily latent needs are anticipated — gathered from the social and psychic predispositions of the target groups — and prepared for an educational course. Sociological and social-psychological literature is used as a background reading.

Unemployed women, attending for instance language courses, political or cultural education courses, do not attract special consideration with regard to their social characteristics (unemployment, sex), because in such cases unemployment and sex are social situations still regarded as irrelevant for planning and preparing adult education. Some of the areas where specialists work have meanwhile drifted away towards independent target group work. Adult Education Centres try to attract those groups of the population, difficult to approach, by designing educational courses in reaction to their individual everyday problems.

One foundation for this kind of target group work is the needs of various population groups, another is an inquiry into equal (social) opportunity regarding adult education participation. The latter is not the case for women. Their share was 58 per cent in 1963, and 72 per cent in 1987 (Pehl, 1989:63).

Target group work with women in the last 15 to 20 years strived for supporting socially handicapped women in self-determined activities (cf. Kaiser & Peltzer-Gall, 1982:84). The starting point was and is the analysis if women's everyday-world and socialization conditions and the quest for a new understanding of womanhood beyond traditional role stereotypes inflicted by dominant male views (cf. Jurinek-Stinner & Weg, 1982:16ff.). In most institutions of adult education all over Western Germany, corresponding courses have succeeded, but this does not mean that educational institutions initiated it; in fact, for the most part they reacted to it. It was women who voiced the requirement, who ensured an institutionalization (cf. *Jubiläumsschrift*, n.d.). Female staff in institutions were not always biassed in favour of such courses like women's forums and discussion circles.

2. Four Phases in the Development of Target Group Work

2.1 The First Phase: Target Group Work as a Contribution to the Democratization of Society

Initially target group work was introduced, defended, and implemented as a contribution to democratize society (see e.g. Degen-Zelazny, 1974). This has several implications:

(a) As late as in the early seventies adult education centres were criticized as being too middle-class, meaning that there were few female employee course attenders. This social-statistical imbalance was the starting point of the approach. Equal opportunity and participation in the further education of all people was the goal to be attained, and social science research tried to find the causes of certain population strata being hindered or discouraged from adult education. A stronger consideration of subject-matters from their own cultural surrounding was thought to strengthen the educational motivation of these disadvantaged groups.

(b) Certain groups in society — women among them — have been diagnosed as lacking drive in implementing their interests and overcoming social discrimination. Education is thought to enable them to analyze their living conditions, to voice their concerns and interests and to improve them.

(c) Societal changes concerning the lives and working conditions — with concurrent changes of norms and values — call for new orientations and different interpretations of one's own life. Target group work converts this new orientation into educational content trying to stabilize and enlarge the action components of those concerned. This appeals to women who have to find their own balance between the family duties expected of them and their personal vocational requirements. Nearly always, if there is no partner for mutual support, the burden of the conflict is on women, on their personal and vocational development. Education ought to contribute to the realization that the causes of these shortcomings, often seen as individually attributable, are in fact societal. It should provide a range of possibilities for unburdening individuals.

Such images of adult education were not widely discussed theoretically but were implemented in practice. In 1971, for instance, the first women's forums took place at the Frankfurt Adult Education Centre. Many other Centres followed suit during the following years with women's discussion circles and caused heated debates in community politics. From these political debates in the communities with the ensuing conflict between adult education institutions and local authorities, the matter-of-fact practice of women's subordination in society could be gathered. These women's discussion and study groups were in fact held responsible for the spreading unrest in families and an increasing divorce rate. Educational work showed results, was not reflective only but lead on from citizen's action committees to the public voicing of interests. Education gained political significance. The early, then current slogan of the Women's Movement. "the private is political" became true. Education and action in society were linked. Education obtained what it wanted and went to the limits of what institutions could stand, risking political coercive measures against adult education as a whole. In the eyes of many, target group work became a vehicle for bringing about a critical adult education; others saw this as a politicized education to be prevented.

2.2 The Second Phase: The Pedagogical Interpretation of Target Group Work

In a second phase the aim was to maintain the political concept while still bypassing the dangers of target group work to institutions. I call this procedure the pedagogical interpretation of target group work. A boundary was drawn between emancipatory enlightenment and political action. Education was allowed to be critical enlightenment but not a direct training for political action. Action orientated learning leading for instance to citizen's action committees was rejected, and internal censorship in institutions began. Yet there was still an emancipatory, interest-orientated education focussing on societal problems, the starting point being, however, no more those social discriminations which were to be tackled by interest-bound action but deficiencies among certain groups in need of compensatory education. The socially deprived became the educationally disadvantaged.

Mader and Weymann (1979) proposed a concept which might be seen as an educational tool for the planned dissemination and implementation of target group work based on social science research, and preparing the involvement of participants during the course. Democratization was meant to concentrate on the education process itself. By that time empirical research about educative work among the educationally disadvantaged showed that the interpretations of educators and course participants did not match (BUVEP, 1979-81). The difference was explained be differing everyday worlds and that the generalized knowledge of educators was insufficient to anticipate the actual everyday-world of participants and thus to improve their learning processes. Participants drew their knowledge about their social situation from their own biography. Their individual interpretations made it difficult to use generalized knowledge about their living conditions for future action. Experience gained from one's own actions thwarts any distant knowledge about one's social situation. Such knowledge remains purely theoretical.

This does not make systematic knowledge superfluous in courses but requires room for some ongoing self-interpretation, because it is experiences only and references to them by participants which can be a good starting point and subject matter of a target group's learning processes. Mader warns, however, that target group work cannot be a substitute nexus of lives, expressing thereby the necessity of a certain distance from the group in spite of all demands for a sharing participation: *"The life situation does not invade the learning situation straightforwardly, but is mediated by a learning situation that demands and permits the selection from a comprehensive reality based on these very clippings and interpretations of reality. The target group concept is such a mediating instance"* (Mader, 1972:87).

Feminist educational practice does not follow such an interest in keeping a distance. It does not tolerate any expert. All women, including course leaders, are participants. Learning problems within the group are rarely dealt with, let alone analyzed. Conflicts are managed rather indirectly. Reflection on this situation in adult education is missing.

The context of an educational policy where such an approach is realized is encapsulated in a demand for more equal opportunity for groups with learning or educational handicaps. Recent German government education policy programmes mention women, the unemployed, the handicapped, and the aged on the same level. Education is no longer interpreted in a societal connection but restricted to overcoming individual educational shortcomings for personal action, although these are still regarded as caused by society. While the first phase of target group work proceeded under the banner of an "action-orientated learning" didactics, the second phase preferred a "participant-directed" concept. This phase of target group work has been the subject of highly differentiated educational designs. Since the target is the learning of the learners themselves, the suggestion of a substitute nexus of lives is possible — as is the gradual shift from adult education to therapy, a fact also pointed out by Mader.

2.3 The Third Phase: Target Group Work as an Organizational Tool

The third phase of utilization can be regarded primarily as one of organizational application. A large part of standardized open programme planning in the area of adult education meanwhile is target group directed. Specific groups are targeted in order to design courses and secure a permanent clientele by contacts with various associations. Target group work is thus absorbed by an organizationally effective planning. Target group work in this phase is distinguishable from other market-orientated offers solely in organization and method. They themselves become more homogeneous by addressing certain marginal target groups, such as English for senior citizens, daytime English courses for housewives. Target group work has become — at least in this at present most prevalent phase — an area of routine planning, but lost its political and educational impact. It has become a planning instrument making possible better targeting by homogenizing potential customers, a procedure questioned only when the number of participants drops or stagnates. Bearing in mind the initial education policy aims when target group work began, when a larger section of the population was thought to be brought into adult education centres by target group work, the concept worked at least to some degree, because the procedure was based on a correct educational theory regarding educational organization.

2.4 The Fourth Phase: Target Group Work as a Means of Social Pedagogism and Political Instrumentalization

The fourth phase of utilization runs parallel to the third and seems to rephrase the actual content of the target group approach. We call it the phase of social pedagogism and instrumentalization. In the context of education policy there is much current talk of "problem-groups" or "fringes" who all create problems of societal legitimacy because they crowd the labour market but have little chances of employment by reason of job scarcity. In the words of Strunk: special programmes ought to affirm the normal, not the design and development of an individual life-plan (Strunk, 1988:90). But since self-responsibility and one's own initiative actually occupy the centre ground of educational policy ideas, these so-called "fringes" (women, the unemployed, etc.) receive marginal attention only. Educational courses have a legitimizing and instrumental character for state echelons. They are downgraded to a kind of catering and appeasement work. With regard to women's education I count among them special programmes such as "Start After 35", "Older Women From Sixty", the personal help individuals get from these courses notwithstanding. These courses with their job-preparation character intend to give active assistance, but in my view prolong an undefined period of transition. Educational courses thus become wards for those who fail to activate themselves in the direction set by society and are unable to claim their rights. Women are seen as needing little opportunities for development, are induced to work in an honorary capacity for which, lo and behold, they have to qualify. Family skills — which make them a special case in the labour market — are to be cultivated on a higher plane and offered unselfishly to society. This, however, leads to neither esteem, self-assertion, nor the ability to secure one's livelihood. The aim is to keep women away from the labour market, although on the face of it everything is done to redirect them there after a phase of family life. A reasonable hypothesis would be that education is used as a sheltering isolation ward to dampen potential political conflict. Now, it is one thing to analyze these special programmes sociologically, and another to analyze and plan adult education from such and interpretative premise. The latter calls for a stronger participant-orientation which in turn can evidence heightened self-awareness among participants as an outcome of the educational effort in these special programmes. It would be a misuse of critical sociological analyses if the criticism of such programmes would result in just a growing interest in institutional organization disregarding due concern for the actual participants. This can be observed — more than just occasionally — in education courses for the unemployed.

To put it another way, the present phase of target group work requires two debates: one critical, inside the profession and adult education, the other about educational policy. Both must be cross-related but not confounded. For professional representatives have lost their innocence when the subsystem "adult education" was developed in the wake of societal rationalization processes, and they need self-critical reflection referring to adult education. Strunk — in a different context — speaks of education being cynically functionalized (1988:87).

If we look at these four different phases as a contemporary step-by-step succession of ideal types, we can see a growing process of tranquillization and domestication which in the fourth phase had the contrary effect of what was intended by the original idea.

3. Educational Work with Women as Political Education

Theoretically speaking political education courses with women do not find their place in target group concepts alone (Loeber-Pautsch, 1988). On the one hand institutionalized adult education courses for women were available prior to target group work without following the traditional explanation of female motivations for adult education, on the other hand a rather classical concept of political education for women has also continued under the target group conception in adult education.[1]

These approaches use typical adult educational didactical principles dominant also in the first and second phase of target group work, namely experiential and participant orientations. Union courses for women at present base their procedures on these principles. Kaiser & Peltzer-Gall's (1982) conception is also typical for such a kind of women's education. The authors take up premises and experiences of the socialist women's movement and tie up learning and acting. Learning is meant to improve the position of women in society (1982:89). Participant-orientation in this concept is not an end in itself, since the authors' practice has shown that one finds *"in the participants' statements all those ideological distortions that hinder their actions or do not let them act in the direction of their interests"* (1982:91). As a consequence of such a diagnosis participant-orientation means *"... to respond to expectations voiced, but not to centre on them exclusively"* (1982:91). Such concepts are theme- and content-centred. In practical terms the line is drawn where women suffer so much under their conditions that they require help.

The present-day union courses for women use arguments similar to Negt's when preferring experience and content related work, but with reference rather to C. Wright Mills who is fundamental for Negt's exemplary principle (cf. Holzapfel's and Thomssen's chapters).

With regard to the unions' educational efforts it must be added that they cannot be separated from their work in organizations. Organizational goals are at the same time contents of educational courses:

- The realities of women's lives must be taken seriously.
- It is a preferred male premise that the situation of women at work and also union policy is even-handed with regard to the sexes.
- women want both family *and* a career.
- There are specific women's issues in many areas of politics.
- Women's problems are not additional, marginal problems.
- Family and household are not private matters.
- Men's solidarity with women's situation is long overdue and a legitimate demand.

- Even in seminars where men are dominant the connection of life and work for women should be discussed (cf. Brusis, 1988:144ff).

This concept states a union policy with feminist aspirations saying goodbye to the sexual bias of the past. It does away with taboos in internal union courses such as misogyny and sexual harassment (Brusis, 1988:13f).

It is true that in the fifties and sixties political education for and with women tackled similar problems, but woman's self-image has changed. Arguments then were strikingly modest (cf. Ziegler, 1958; Grewe-Partsch, 1962). Women's rights was not mentioned, instead there was talk of women's civic duties, of actively taking part in public life. Female authors anticipated and rejected reproaches to be selfish and over-ambitious. The then unquestioned expectations for women to work within the family and to concentrate their vocational interests on life without children or after them, were general norms. Those few women active in education at that time tried to give women a public profile. Home economics, household management, or domestic science were all part of women's education, but an occasional argument against "*this relapse into a woman's special, household-centred existence could be heard*" (Grewe-Partsch, 1962:118).[2]

The socio-political conclusion to be drawn can only be that modesty makes life easier for others, but is not the way to justice, at least not for women's issues.

These texts of the fifties and sixties are relevant today because of the women's learning attitudes then and now. The problem of political learning from one's own biography is still waiting for an empirical and detailed analysis. Ziegler, for instance, points out that women's discussion groups suffer from the conflict of highest demands and the danger of sliding into cosy waffle. The demands of women themselves regarding education are underestimated, and this by male colleagues in particular (Ziegler, 1958:290). Mayer-Kuhlenkampff stresses that a group offers security and the development of trust, making possible biographical accounts. She sees a holistic view as the basic pattern for women's discussion groups, which we may also call an interdisciplinary procedure if we follow her description (Mayer-Kuhlenkampff, 1962:125f).

Even then courses apparently had an experiential orientation, provided current scientific theories, used biographical approaches, and wished to attain mutual support. But recent texts strongly emphasize women's self-entitlements and argue less about family commitments (Quinten, 1987; Völker, 1987). Both authors find among women

- a lack of self-awareness,
- an alienating anxiety to penetrate the male world,
- women's lack of tradition in public life,
- the absence of any encouragement by a male intermediary (cf. Mayer-Kuhlenkampff, 1962:126).

Translated into current phrases this means: The patriarchal structures of society hamper women's participation, daily frustrations restrict their self-awareness, the unwritten history of women pushes them into oblivion, as if there was no story to tell.

Rarely do women find help in their personal development, a prerequisite for their activity.

In public, vocational, and professional centres of power the *token woman* is cherished who, in the end, leaves power to the men with a whiff of self-assertion, or she is a competent *feeder* in the shadows. Woman is seen as second-grade. The male principle has declared itself *neutral* allowing men for centuries to live out their male interests without experiencing them as specifically male.[3]

What can education ultimately achieve, and does it perhaps remain just a reflex of the current *Zeitgeist* in spite of all its ambitious goals? Either way, as far as educational work with women is concerned, it faces a paradoxical situation: Those most in need of enlightenment — in need of dealing with their prejudices — can evade such demands because of societal power conditions (cf. Nuissl, 1988), whereas women struggle to free themselves usually incompletely from imposed and in later life self-imposed reductions and self-deprecations of themselves and their sex.

Current educational work with women as political education aims at strengthening their own sex, supporting self-conscious, autonomous life-plans of women. In her summary of institutional and autonomous educational work with women Jurinek-Stinner (1982) speaks of a foundation of feminist education aiming at the subjectivity of woman's being, which would require an open concept of education. Adult education approaches are not prescribed by norms, ideally they are search processes going through the stages of concern, distance, and action, giving free rein to personal development via self-help (1982:17ff). This is a further reason why feminist education rejects experts and banks instead on shared learning. Its explicit demands in 1987 and 1988 are:

(a) An open educational situation as a precondition of social learning and search processes,

(b) A strengthening of women's self-assertion based on their competencies acquired in the living context of household-, upbringing- and relation-management.

(c) The removal of hierarchies, to make women masters of their situation.

(d) Partiality as a declaration of will to work for the removal of sex-related discriminations and to engage in political debate.

This kind of educational work does not attempt to change consciousness and improve the personal coping mechanisms in life-situations, but wishes to develop action strategies for the change of women's societal and private life-situations (cf. Quinten, 1987:238ff).

4. Different Forms of Work in Feminist Education

4.1 Women's Open Discussion Group

From the beginning of target group work, a women's circle is the kind of educational work that has survived longest. It is an opportunity for women to reflect on their lives as living without male interference. The group's task is to strengthen self-confidence by mutual support. The Frankfurt documentation on ten years of women's forums (*Jubiläumsschrift*, n.d.) shows that women's open discussion groups primarily address housewives whose meaningful lives require more than raising their children and doing their household chores. Women get themselves out of their isolation and in their self-learning groups encourage one another to become active in public, starting with a concern about their actual living conditions as family women. The general aim of women's forums, in Frankfurt and elsewhere, is to give women an impulse to get going, voice interests, become more independent. The shared acquisition of knowledge about their own situation in society is intended to join with the articulation of concern which make possible a self-confident formulation of action goals.

The organizational set-up of women's open discussion groups varied over the years, but the aims remained stable. Training courses in increased self-awareness became standard practice and the biographical method was used. In 1975, for instance, self-awareness groups were established in the Frankfurt forums trying to overcome passivity, dependence on authority, the anxiety to deal with one's problems and difficulties (*Jubiläumsschrift*, n.d.:11). The rules of self-awareness in groups were applied (*Kleingruppen*, 1988:102ff), but work went beyond that and linked self-awareness with experience-orientated learning. Feelings, problems, difficulties, experiences expressed by participants were examined for their generality. The feminist approach to experiential learning is different from Negt's in that

- it is not restricted to a segregated part of the everyday-world ("work"),
- its subject is not only condensed experience and the interpretation of events, but also general modes of feeling,
- it includes the group processes among the women learners themselves.

Studying these feminist procedures from a viewpoint of therapeutic self-help groups we must ask whether

- the causes of all emotional problems can be traced back to the sexes,
- self-awareness groups should have no professional trainer,
- the group provides sufficient stability and handles feedback properly.

On behalf of the Frankfurt women's forums Volhard summarizes the reasons for their procedure as follows: "*In the sheltered atmosphere of their groups women learn to trust their own experiences and feelings which are more telling than scientific interpretations and statistics, and lead them to an unprejudiced viewpoint free from male domination...*" (Volhard, in *Jubiläumsschrift*, n.d.:12).

The basic assumptions of this approach imply a diagnosis of social harm absorbed by the female psyche not easily dissolved by enlightenment alone. Second-rateness ascribed to women from childhood has taken root in their self-esteem. This is, in my view, the as yet insufficiently explained reason why emotional and cognitive work with women needs to be connected. Sensitivity, healing, knowledge, and action require a specific synthesis for a self-confident, self-responsible, self-motivated activity of women to happen. Whether and how such a link between cognitive and emotive work is possible can only be assessed after the availability of action-research studies or similar documents of such educational experiences.[4]

It is, however, interesting for any helpful discussion of this feminist educational work to learn which procedures have prevailed, if the whole point of the essay is to note commonalities and crossover from the women's own experiences and interpretations to a socio-critical analysis. Two systematic empirical reports are available:

(1) A Freiburg women's group has issued recommendations for group work with women (*Kleingruppen*, 1988).

(2) Luttikholt (1983) has presented a detailed study of group work with women based on her own experience.

The Freiburg group does not marshal self-awareness processes "*on the background of individual life-stories... but in connection with the social and political situation of the woman...*" (*Kleingruppen*, 1988:102). Like the Frankfurt discussion circle the Freiburg group follows Wagner's proposals with 14 beneficial rules for women's discussion circles:

1. The group is composed of women only.
2. The best size is five to seven women.
3. The group must not be open to any newcomer at random.
4. The group should meet at home once a week for some two or three hours (by turns).
5. All group members should always participate in discussions.
6. There is no group leader.
7. The group agrees on a subject before each session, then each woman in turn tells of her experiences.
8. Each woman is free to decide what to tell and what not to tell.
9. She must not be interrupted during her narrative.
10. Her narrative is now referred to by the other members who try to understand better, share and give feedback.
11. Narratives must not be criticized unless the narrator expressly asks for critical comments.
12. No advice should be given.

13. Say "I" and not "one".
14. Once all the women have told their tale, everybody listening attentively, the group should take half an hour for joint discussion (Wagner, 1982:103ff).

Item 11 is the most difficult rule to follow, according to this report, because the major problem women have among themselves is reciprocal competitive depreciation or looking for "male" favours. A thus restricted view often hinders true community. *"The possibility to regard women no longer as competitors, to talk openly with them about personal matters, to discover that it is great fun to be together, is part of our policy"* (1982:98). Self-awareness groups shall enable women to perceive themselves as one sex with similar if not equal problems in order to act in solidarity.

In her report Luttikholt (1983) thoroughly assesses her experiences in women's study circles and converts them into a systematic recommendation for women's group work. The key term she uses is neither the "small group", nor the "self-awareness group", nor the "consciousness-raising group", but, rather, "rounds" of free talking. A round to her is just one method among others; self-awareness is not the royal road. Everyone in the round has her turn to voice opinions, feelings, expectations. Her rounds do not have any leader or experts, but she offers proposals to group helpers.

How important are leaderless and expertless women's discussion circles for the emancipation process? The argument to go without them seems justified if all women were targets of the same social ascriptions and were drawn from their authority-fixated passivity when there is no leadership. In my view the argument of women's greater authority-fixation holds only if men are the leaders. Women among themselves find it hard to live with such a distinction, not only with regard to competence. A lacking recognition of one's own gender apparently leads to seeing oneself as part of a suppressed, grey mass. This makes it difficult for women to individualize, but easy for men to avoid unwanted competition from women by playing them off against one another. Women share sorrow, but successful or so-called deviant women do not get recognition, tolerance seldom, isolation or avoidance rather often from their own kind. What women most cherish — their autonomy — they do not get that way (Meulenbelt, in Becker-Schmidt & Knapp, 1987:99ff). They themselves contribute to being tossed about by alien interests, if they do not develop a solidary support among themselves which has to rely on spreading feminine variety, which would also mean the acceptance of female competence and authority. Only then would the path be cleared for them to compete among themselves more openly and task-related instead of pushing conflicts up to the final breaking point.

Italian women's groups follow the same principle of leaderless work, but according to the Milano women the groups were nearly always formed because of one or two women taking the initiative *"who were acknowledged by others just because of their activity and gained special status in the group..."* (Libreria delle donne di Milano, 1988:50). So there were leaders who claimed to be equals among equals for the sake of harmony and avoidance of conflict.

The argument that there are no accepted forerunners is not always inspired by egalitarian interest. Women's disregard of their own widely varying capabilities and performances is a new form of subtle self-disparagement and reinforces those virtues which in the end stabilize discrimination against them: modesty and altruism coupled with high activity. Careful analyses will therefore be necessary to find out which interpretation is better. If lack of women's self-love should turn out to be the cause of a seemingly progressive premise in educational work among women, a thus organized education could at best achieve a persisting status quo of feminine self-interpretation.

The space available allows for a few critical remarks only on evident facts and practices of feminist education. Feminist research into learning could concentrate exactly on those aspects which deal with the social character of female action — including its critical parts — and examine its socially integrative and/or emancipatory potential. Knapp argues along the same line when she says: *"The degradation of women in society and the belittling of their work obliged the women's movement to advance an offensive and positive image of women's potentials. Warding off a patriarchal definition of deficits leads to an idealized emphasis of the differences. The is a trap"* (Libreria, 1988:9).

But it is also a trap to express female action always in language patterns of "deficits". The causes may have nothing to do with the gender issue. This is also true of a large part of the empirical and theoretical feminist literature up to the most recent viewpoints. Women always suffer from a defect, this or that is lacking according to a supposed male standard. Even positive sides which could be pointed up become negatively tainted with a brush of pity or blame. The interpretation of computer learning research outcomes shows the phenomenon quite well. Women and men alike share and deplore an imaginary deficit and need not change anything. Those apparently progressive men who participate have meanwhile learned that the adoption of a female life-nexus does not endanger male dominance in society, for once a socially inflicted deficit has been mended, the next one is on the line. Girls' equivalent or superior leaving certificates are a good example: they do not provide equal opportunities in vocational or professional sectors. The argument of "performance" had to be replaced by another one. If education is sucked into the circular movement of deficits, it remains attached to the patriarchally established image of femininity; the cliché is just whitewashed and "modernized".

4.2 The Biographical Procedure

This special approach refers to self-awareness and experiential learning based on assumptions how women can find their own definition of "self" and "desire". Training courses for the stabilization of self-awareness are to channel the treatment, but the overall goal of all didactical concepts is an enhanced female autonomy and independence.

The Milano self-awareness groups have shown that women *"are another sex neither subordinate nor adaptable to the male. Their self-awareness had freed women from* *having their differences defined by others, had enabled them to speak about themselves and on their own behalf*". (Libreria, 1988:44). Accordingly, the time had come "*that the female mind needed concepts to comprehend herself and the world, but the concepts made available by the human culture denied the female mind ever having a thinking mind of her own*". The theory of self-awareness — excluding any mediation — was the starting point for women to "*see themselves as origin and principle of themselves*" (1988:46), to express openly their wishes and to re-create themselves on the level of the symbolic.

It is true, though, that the biographical method and variants of self-awareness training are no answer leading beyond a specific feminist theory of emancipation. The method is rather one way of looking into each woman's emotional concern on the background of a factual social uniformity. Following Levy (1977) women have a so-called "standard biography", where stops like marriage and birth of children have a decisive meaning for the individual development of a woman. Subjective concern, sorrow, unreflected facts of life can be explained by the biographical method as caused by society and take away any individual blame.

On the other hand the biographical method makes also evident individual scope to decide and the personal responsibility for the direction taken: "*Women's life-courses are still very decisively influenced by societal structures, institutionalizations and social norms so that the phrase 'female normal biography' is justified... This individually experienced and interpreted normal biography is often felt as deficient, carrying with it resignation in the wake of frustrations and hope lost. On the other hand, it lays the foundation for the meaning of one's own existence by following and coping... with the requirements of daily life, of the family*" (Loeber-Pautsch, 1984:24). Loeber-Pautsch lists a number of goals connected with a biographical self-reflection (1984:24-25):

- Not to regard the stages of a woman's standard biography as due to biology but to society.
- Not to regard one's own "deficient" life-course as due to one's own failure, but due to "*social opportunities being withheld and ossified societal structures*".
- To find out biographical turning-points in one's life and discuss perspectives of an alternative life-plan.
- To recognize opportunities and margins of development for their own daughters.

While self-awareness was meant primarily to articulate and accept women's own feelings and experiences, working along individual biographies seeks to lay open the standardization of female life-courses in society. The hope is that by this enlightenment the road is freed to an individual development beyond societally ascribed norms.

Loeber-Pautsch showed, however, that participants (factory women) did not at all ascribe their limited vocational development to their own incapability. Marriage is indeed a central event, but most women were back to work after one to five years. Even if the family remains the focus, women do not like to go without a job (Loeber-Pautsch, 1984:28). They see an educational course as an act of independence. The concomitant research mentioned has shown that women are indeed aware of discriminations against them, but no utopias of a different, better life for them could be developed.

However, the biographical method supplies more than just a knowledge of how much one's own biography mirrors the image of a typical female life. A graphic account is given by a Milano woman — working for her post-school secondary school graduation certificate — in her 1977 commentary to a feminist text: "*My first reaction to this text is rejection: I reject the theory that we women have always been instrumentalized and administered by the male and his history. I am aware that my protest serves to protect myself, but for a woman who is past the mid-point of her life and who has always believed that she has done her best, it is tragic if she is told (I use my own words): 'Everything you have done in your life was wrong; the values you believed in, like the family, children, conjugal fidelity, purity, even your household chores — everything wrong, the outcome of a subtle strategy brought forward from one generation to the next for the eternal exploitation of women'. I repeat: I can only be dismayed*" (Libreria, 1988:118).

If biographical learning illustrates the irreversibility or unchangeability of the life-course chosen, sorrowful learning processes begin, and the outcome is uncertain. Will there be more freedom and scope to act? Reading such a text as a reaction to working with biographies, we have to ask ourselves at least:

- How much pain may we cause in a learning process, which is no therapy, if women shall and wish to gain fresh self-awareness and courage for their own actions?
- How can I find a way to correct my past life-course without calling into question my life as a whole and thereby endangering my "self"?

This is where women's education needs reflection. For, if all past life must be called into question and, at the same time the bounds imposed by society prevent a fresh beginning, the road to a new identity is bumpy. Women discover these bounds rather late, when they have for the most part done their socially required family jobs and when their recognition is successively withdrawn within the family and in society at large. This happens at a time when more than half of their lives are still ahead, but the age barriers for a fresh start in most occupations have already been set up. Special education programmes like "Start After 35" fit exactly into this neuralgic life-span.

5. Compact Education Along Certain Life-Phases

In the eighties the political institutional public took up the so-called "women's rights issue". Commitment to a stronger participation of women, also in leadership jobs, was in vogue, or at least to deplore its absence. Quota resolutions were carried on a surge of diffuse acceptance to let more women have their share of power in society. Today's observer will notice that quotas are dodged and the few quota-women are subjected to new subtle discriminations. The patriarchy forgets that even among men the distribution of power, prestige, and careers has always been handled irrespective of performance criteria. The call for "equal performance" (women do so anyhow, when they have the opportunity) must be regarded as a novel strategy of putting women down and will doubtless have the occasional physical effect.

Since the eighties women have pushed their way onto the market more than in previous decades, in spite of an increasing lack of jobs and discouragement by Labour Offices. Women are unwilling to obey a family ideology, to serve as a "reserve army" as was strongly expected of them in the mid-eighties. Adult education is integrated in this process, but very ambivalently. It offers publicly funded compact courses in reaction to these activities of women. On the face of it, the courses support women's new activities because

- family women shall be helped or retrained to go back to work;
- older women shall be assisted in designing an active, satisfactory role for their post-employment life:
- women shall be helped in being trained for typical male occupations.

The initial concept for "Start After 35 — motivation and orientation courses" has been the "Freiburg Model" (Oldenburger Konzept, 1988:12). It comprises an eight- to ten-week "orientation" course with 40 to 60 instruction units, a two-week practicum, and a weekend seminar. Three special areas and the following subjects are available:

I. Psychology, pedagogy, languages and communication, (and health as optional).

II. Rhythmics, handicraft.

III. Law, public institutions, labour market, politics (and contemporary issues as optional).

Many regional variants exist. We have taken neighbouring concepts (Göttingen and Oldenburg) as representative examples.

The curricula reflect the variety of topics from rhetoric, family, society, arts, culture to home economics, all meant to heighten women's interest in public life, to strengthen their ability to speak up, to give them self-confidence, to re-orientate them for their lives after the family-phase. The Oldenburg concept wishes to contribute to individual decision making (Setje-Eilers, 1988:11ff), the Göttingen model wishes to lower psychical and social thresholds which hinder women from starting afresh in social and occupational lives (Niehuis & Hasselhorn, 1986:14).

The curricula reflect a presence of the three-phases-theory as the so-called "standard biography". Personal capabilities are stressed, self-confidence is heightened, public behavior and verbal fluency are trained, distancing oneself from the family is encouraged, but nowhere is there any discussion whether household and family chores might not be split among the sexes while the wife is working. These curricula still keep the woman responsible for the housework. She "may" try something else on condition that she says goodbye to her role of housemaid. The concepts use an action and experiential approach based on the participants' everyday situation. Neither model favours a return-to-work aim. The Göttingen approach distances itself from a potential suggestion that women take on honorary jobs, whereas it looks as if the Oldenburg approach — under the influence of the *Deutsche Frauenring* (German Women's Association) — promotes the honorary aspect.[5]

This openness of aims makes one wonder whether the intention of these courses — at least on behalf of the funding agencies — is to pacify the potential disquiet among these women's age-group by giving them an apparent assistance in finding new jobs and careers while, at the same time, showing them alternatives that society expects of family women. They are thought to be spending their efforts in public social institutions under the same conditions as in the family. Adult education, then, is to provide the corresponding self-confidence training for such an altruistic commitment. The best description of these compact courses would be "family courses for working through psychogenic disorder caused by family work". This is what it is all about.

But what do these women expect? What assistance do they need? Nothing else but their social data are known. Their background is middle class, most of them leaving after ten years of schooling. Having worked for some seven to nine years, they then looked after their children and family. Their average age is forty. They are the typical consumers of adult education.

Now, for an analysis of adult education it is not only important to know the social data of women participants and society's intentions, but rather what use is made of the courses and their impact. While there are research outcomes for the Göttingen concept, we can report on the experiences of the Oldenburg practicum. During their short practica in various firms the women did not all get the impression that an occupational re-entry was particularly difficult. On the job they found their way around rather quickly and with that background experience could also decide confidently *against* certain jobs. The report mentions activities like care for the elderly, kindergarten teacher, etc. (Setje-Eilers, 1988:30). The Göttingen report mentions the fact that the women in this course came into it with a strong willingness to change (Niehuis & Hasselhorn, 1986:117), but they also had a lower degree of self-acceptance and social self-image than, for example, a comparable group aiming at professional qualifications for a job as master of home economics. This, according to Niehuis & Hasselhorn, legitimizes such courses designed to strengthen self-assertion and self confidence. The accompanying research highlights as success "the marked increase in expected self-efficiency" and an improvement of self-acceptance. After the course more than 40 per cent of the participants looked for a job and found it within six months. On the other hand "*on average, the social self-image is slightly lower by the end than at the beginning of the course*" (1986:117). Has this perhaps something to do with a more self-assertive examination of women who are being discriminated against in society?

From a feminist point of view there is a dilemma in evaluating these courses. They remain within the bounds of women's family life; they react on women's quest, but they flinch from fundamental analyses. They take women's consciousness as a starting point and can thus apparently encourage a self-confident activity.

6. Women's Learning Behavior in Vocational Adult Education

It is a good ten years now that activities have increased (a) to integrate women more effectively into vocational adult training and (b) to get jobless women out of the ghetto of a segregated job market. The Federal Institute of Occupational Training has been doing concomitant empirical studies for the past ten years (Foster, 1987). In this context we are less interested in the statistics of course participation,[6] than in research concentrating on the learning behavior of women.

The statistical yield is limited: the higher the qualification, the more women's attitude towards adult education becomes similar to the male one (Schiersmann, 1987:160). Women prefer adaptation training to career advancement training (1987:171ff). It is important to realize, however, that in-company courses preparing for middle management are not open to people from the outside. Very often the personnel department decides on participation. One might call it active discrimination against women, justified by reference to family obligations. But we know from various reports that most women drop out of training and retraining courses for financial and not family reasons. What in general education is common knowledge for many years, holds true for vocational adult training as well: Women's second-ratedness in society can no longer be explained by supposedly insufficient qualifications and personal, female factors like stronger family bonds; the deficiency approach loses its hold here as well (Weg, 1982:32f). Weg calls it an educationalizing-individualizing procedure that "*maintains the general stigmatization of women as a problem group*" (p.32). This judgement is premature. Indeed, research on adult learning and education could clarify precisely what the argument of women's greater learning problems is worth.

The segregated labour market, explained by some women researchers with a specifically female capacity to work, contribute to women's negative job careers. Reports show that it is not a female capacity to work which urges girls to realize it by dint of the jobs chosen, but rather that girls try to cope with the market situation and have "*no other choice than to follow the traditional sex-related tracks*" (Rettke & Krüger, 1982:58). Objective, patriarchally formed conditions are thus converted into a subjective deficit. Women and girls appear to be hopelessly flexible facing all requirements. In my view it is a superficial observation, if not an outdated thesis, to imply that women have a split interest in family and job because of their stronger family ties. Women's strength lies in coping with additional family chores, but as practice shows the conclusion is false that women do not fulfil their occupational requirements. The problem rests rather with men who often disregard their family duties under the more or less correct justification of their job commitments.

An autonomous choice of careers and subsequent vocational training taking up additional energies, girls and women have to face further negative clichés in the actual learning situation as well. Some outcomes of concomitant research concerning the learning process of jobless women in retraining programs without any leaving certificate show that the viewpoint of a required deficit — "of course" to be counterbalanced — is an apparently correct estimate of a social reality. A freshly designed new reality from a feminist perspective can only be created, if patriarchal thinking is recognized in scientific contexts as well. Such an androcentrism can unfortunately be found in large parts of social science research (Kramer, 1988). This has nothing to do with an educationalizing, didacticizing, and individualizing procedure criticized by Weg. This would be putting the blame on an apparently weaker discipline.

The research available to me concomitant with vocational retraining offers the following collective outcomes which I should like to remove from the smooth presentation of deficits:

> **Outcome #1:** *Women lack technical understanding and an abstract mind with regard to technical flowcharts and work diagrams.* There is no information supporting the fact that women needed a longer induction training or that training had to be stopped for this reason. Why not say that given their socialization, women's initial aloofness from technique in the early stages is expressed in standing in awe of technical diagrams? Why not examine and stress how quickly they catch on from lack of any knowledge to the required terminology?
>
> **Outcome #2:** *Women pose many questions, even on tools and processes regarded as routine by men, and confound the learning process.* Why not say that women develop a high degree of curiosity during the learning process, that they are not content with so-called work routines, that they wish to follow things through. This may cause problems for the trainer who is not capable of any flexible response.
>
> **Outcome #3:** *Women are more group-orientated, they dislike competition among themselves, the weakest member then sets the pace of learning.* One could also say that women practice a democratic style of learning trying from scratch to incorporate the pace and understanding of everyone. They are less prone to the individual antics of showing off and avoid concealing mistakes and lack of knowledge. By and large they are less anxious and more self-critical. (Markert & Zimmer, 1987; Bachmann, 1988; Weindel, 1988; Foster, 1987; Schiersmann, 1987).

There are good reasons for women having so little self-confidence, standing in awe of skills acquisition (in other words: showing restrained activity). Men's widespread showmanship and dominance, their undeveloped ability to recognize women as equals, do not fail to impress many women. Vocational education [B] therefore cannot at present do without phases of motivation and orientation with supportive and emotionally stabilizing functions, not by reason of counterbalancing female deficits, but for the acquisition of strategies to cope with frustrations and social disparagements. The core problem is the abolishment of women's inner censorship ceaselessly saying: *you cannot, you must not, you know not, you are rejected, made the laughing-stock, no longer loved by men, as soon as you venture into "their" fields they so highly cherish.*

Considerable changes are at present in the offing. A representative survey with an identical test and re-test in 1968 and 1975 by Gießen psychologists and psychoanalysts has found that women have changed "dramatically": *"In comparison with... 1975, women today see themselves as more self-assured and stable. Their view is, accordingly, that currently they are regarded as relatively rather strong. They acknowledge and express their feelings more than in the past, though it is true that these feelings are now rather self-centred"* (Brähler & Richter, 1989:292). According to the Gießen survey women have as much assertiveness, ambition, and manipulative interests as men.

Let us wait and see whether women's greater influence in society looms ahead. In the long run we should not further any development toward an "elbow society", but work for a future society of mutual love and care among the sexes. Men have to face up to this challenge and also work for it. Women still have enough resources that they do not wish to be misused any longer. The time has come for an education to become androgynous.

Summary: *Educational work with and for women in the context of adult education is part of target group work. The target group concept has changed during the last twenty years and educational work for and with women along with it. Four phases may be distinguished. Yet, women's political education is not absorbed by the target group concept. Comparing reports from the fifties and sixties with those from the eighties, two similar problems of learning are evident, but there is also a marked difference in women's self-image.*

The dominant and specifically feminist form of work (women's discussion group/circle with a heavy accent on self-awareness and the biographical method) are presented on the basis of experiential reports and action research results. The same holds for the dominant reports in publications of the second half of the eighties about special pre-occupational training programmes.

A Note on the Author

Wiltrud Gieseke, Privatdozentin, Dr. paed. habil., born in 1947. Staff member of the Pedagogical Research Centre of the German Association of Adult Education Centres from 1973 to 1980. Academic employee in the Department of Education, University of Oldenburg, from 1980 to 1989. Deputy Professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen since 1989. Publications in the fields of vocational development, professionality research, target group work with women and the unemployed.

My university studies began in an era of student unrest and resistance in the late 1960s. At that time I was rather euphoric in believing that I could change societal conditions for the better, and I studied history, education, sociology with this goal in mind. In my study, authors such as Habermas, von Hentig, Schleiermacher were prominent, but most of all perhaps the socio-historical writings of Dahrendorf, Aloys Fischer, Hans-Ulrich Wehler regarding the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and

Rosa Luxemburg, an independent woman resisting dominant trends and the danger of dogmatism, who combined sensitivity with human warmth and a strong commitment. However, being sober and pragmatic, I became a teacher and adult educator, without any further, postgraduate study of psychology which I could not afford. A later psycho-analysis had a lasting effect without yet finding its way into my academic writings, dealing with methods and processes of personal and social appropriation and coping. How do people best learn, develop, and change significantly? What and where are the core elements of resistance to change? My key concerns are educational evaluation research with qualitative methods and the improvement of adult educators. My hope is to help adults overcome learning obstacles and anxieties and to strengthen their self-assertion in the everyday-world.

Notes

[1] Loeber-Pautsch has already brought out the sociological references of women's education courses covering the last two decades. I shall concentrate in the following on the adult education premises.

[2] In quantitative terms home economics and "creative" courses still prevail today, if we consider courses exclusively attended by women. It would be interesting to examine whether the self-image of women in these courses has changed, in spite of conventional educational approaches, and whether motives for attending such courses are different from those with an explicit feminist bias.

[3] Social science research during the last thirty years concerning the gainful employment of mothers mirrors, according to Schütze (1988), clichés of femininity in society. Research subjects and interpretation of results adapt to the prevailing societal climate. In the fifties and early sixties, for example, women were regarded as being of equal value, but with their essential characteristics rather complementary to men (Schütze, 1988:115). Gainful employment was interpreted as a denaturation of womanhood. In the late sixties and seventies working mothers were criticized for "*damaging the biological bond with the child and therefore the child himself*" (1988:125). Although the methods of these studies were criticized by Lehr and others, this intra-science critique was — according to Schütze — less effective than that of the later women's movement (1988:126). In the eighties research paradigms emerged with roots in women's demands to catch up on individualization and self-responsibility. The question whether the children profit from or are damaged by working mothers is no more asked. Schütze assumes that for the time being an experimental phase predominates in the female conduct of life (1988:132f).

[4] The undocumented history of female life-nexus has rightly been criticized; the same holds for the contemporary history of feminist education.

[5] Empirical research about women's participation in public life shows up differences among various women's groups according to their affiliations to parties, unions,

associations, churches, or charitable institutions (Ballhausen et al., 1986).

[6] Cf. the detailed statistical material in Schiersmann's Job-Related Further Training and the Female Life-Nexus (*Berufsbezogene Weiterbildung*, 1987).

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Labour Education

Wolfgang Hindrichs

1. Workers' Education — an Obsolete Term and an Outdated Subject of Adult Education?

There are quite a few representatives of educational disciplines and practice who would regard workers' education as a purely historical term lacking present-day importance. Nobody could deny that it had once been an essential historical root of present day adult education, but during the past few decades it has lost its subject matter. There is no such thing as "the" worker any longer, but only a multistructured work force whose strata and sub-groups require a well targeted general, vocational, or political education, possibly linked to organizations. Particular goals, contents, and methods of workers' education were useful at a time when workers were a relatively well-defined fringe class marginal to the people and the nation and when they had to develop a culture and education system of their own. Once workers had established their political equal rights and could use public and democratic educational institutions, the need for such a separate workers' education was gone.

On the other hand, there has always been a minority supporting the theory and practice of adult education who has up to the present reclaimed as vital the idea and matter of a workers' education, and this not out of romanticism only. Clinging today to a "workers" education, though, needs specific reasons which hit the gist of adult education's self-image.

Those who regard workers' education as obsolete have the correct feeling that it has essentially to do with work and the working class. The relationship of wage-labour and capital now as ever fundamentally determines the social structure of a society, in spite of all assertions that vertical social disparities have meanwhile been replaced by horizontal ones. Certainly most of the different theories and categories of stratification are necessary to describe aspects of social structures, but without the class movement on which they are based and which produces these strata, they cannot be understood.

Even if gainful employment becomes less important to many people, because they will either be unemployed or have their working hours reduced, or because work will serve as a stop-gap while mechanization and automation progresses. Even if other forms of "work", like home-based and family work, attract more attention, the production of material and immaterial goods follows now and for a foreseeable future the pattern of gainful employment, and the societies of highly industrialized countries reproduce themselves under power conditions determined by capital movement, capital use, and capital accumulation. He who speaks of workers' education today reminds us of the power centre of our society: the relationship of capital and wage-labour which has been kept identical under the changing forms of industrial and "post-industrial" work and incessantly produces new inequalities and injustices. In passing we might add that numerous problematic relations between the "first", "second", and "third" world establish new topics for workers' education.

There are certainly labour educators who concentrate on marginalized groups of wage earners such as unskilled and skilled workers, the unemployed, working mothers, etc. Others will think workers' education most important for those who do not see themselves as workers and who are part of the "new" working class participating in "scientificated" work. There is no denying the fact that "workers' education" as a term in current usage is tainted by a reference to the worker, as the traditional core of the "employed" — as against the "employees" — and occasionally there is talk therefore of "workers' and employees' education". The necessary impetus of such workers' education is always a group transcending reference to the totality of society as power relationship.

We are now coming close to the unfulfilled historical aim of workers' education as a form of inner reflection and communication of the labour movement: to promote the process of working class emancipation and — through it — of society. The emancipatory content of workers' education, the intention of decreasing societal power and of establishing a rational, collective, democratic organization of social reproduction and with it of societal work — these are still the central aims of workers' education in a broad sense. Other forms of political education may share the same aims. These are workers' education as long as they see societal freedom linked with the freedom from alienated work under avoidable forms of power.

Workers' education in the light of the formulated socio-critical principle does not bow to ossified institutional divisions of adult education into general, cultural, vocational, and political education. Such institutional segmentations correspond entirely with a certain division of work in a society, but are inadequate to the mutual interface of general, cultural, vocational, and political contents and methods. A workers' education which focusses on the interconnected lives of workers and on the complex character of the labour movement, has all the more an interconnective function. Workers' education as political education is very much to the fore because the organization and form of the work in a society must first be reflected politically. But are these questions not also those of a self-reflective vocational education? This shows that adult education as a critical principle does not leave untouched the traditional self-understanding and institutional demarcations of educational areas.

No less unwieldy is workers' education relative to the many conceptual terms of a science of adult education. "The" adult, whose social situation and bonding is seen as "added to something", is the mirror image of the ideology of a levelled society. Social differentiation crops up only in the arbitrariness of target groups.

If one starts from the distribution of forces in society, workers' education could perhaps be grateful if as a scientific discipline it can find shelter among a science of adult education based on a pluralist idea of society. But workers' education cannot do without looking into the social character, the social interests, and the social perspectives of adults.

2. The Historical Side

Historically speaking, workers' education is closely connected with the origin and rise of the working class and labour movement. In the early days the social question of the fourth estate was commonly seen as being one of education. Many bourgeois philanthropists tried to offer workers compensatory general and vocational education which the state school system had denied them. This was done in Workers' Educational Associations. The more workers came to realize that they must organize to represent their social interests successfully, the more education became a political problem: the structure of society and the place of the worker in it were to be recognized and the education of workers became also the education to organize so as to change both. At the same time the labour movement's educational-political considerations always turned to a democratic and egalitarian design of public education.

Contradictory developments happened with the expansion and stabilization of workers' organizations. On the one hand, theories and thoughts of a scientific socialism began to take hold of small segments of the labour movement, absorbing a criticism of political economy, of the enlightenment, and of Hegel's philosophy. On the other hand, the knowledge of an evolutionist natural science was turned into a criticism of religion and moved workers' masses. The transfer of natural science evolutionism to society led to a unified *Weltanschauung* supported by many members of the socialist labour movement.

Labour movement and workers' education in Germany before World War I were ideologically split into socialist, Christian, and liberal organizations, with no public recognition. They had to be self-reliant, which led to a ramified system of cultural institutions organizing those partly independent cultural contributions of workers sharing, coping, and struggling solidarily for a better life, but it also led to some apolitical traits of the petit bourgeois.

"The" working class was, by the way, never a homogeneous unit, but always one in flux, with both unifying and differentiating moments in one. The labour movement was supported in the main by skilled and specialist workers first in the crafts, then in industrial manufacture. But unskilled workers, women, youths, employees, petty officials, all with their differing interests, milieux, and behaviors were also part of the working class.

Although brief, the German revolution of 1918-1919, following the military defeat and the *Kaiser's* fall, became an outstanding event. It looked for some years as if the German labour movement was on the threshold of a fundamental reconstruction of conditions in economy, state, and society. Many forces concentrated on educational efforts and preparation for the socialization of material and cultural goods, for workers' autonomy, and for attending the process. Reviewing this today, the multitude of ideas and conceptions of that period is amazing.

More rapidly than adherents of local revolutionary councils ("soviets") and of the socialist revolution would admit, a parliamentary republic established itself conserving a capitalist economy — the labour movement was tamed and "fit in". Important consequences were the introduction of works councils — lacking however the power to veto economic decisions of entrepreneurs — and an ongoing split of the labour movement. In addition to separate organizations of the liberal and Christian workers came "wings" from the split of the social democracy. The communist wing of the socialist labour movement contrasted sharply with the new Republic and wanted to revolutionize it. The social-democratic wing identified with it in defence against the right and the left. However, since neither wing could do away with the causes and effects of the worldwide economic crisis in 1929, they fell victim to the ruthless national-socialist movement.

It is difficult to sum up workers' education during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). After the revolution had collapsed, a widespread instruction for party and union functionaries was set up to cover the variety of special legal matters of industrial representatives and public functions of trade unions. The instruction of functionaries was dominant, although labour movement organizations stuck to their principal claim of a broad education for their members. The general idea of political contents was to draft gradualized conceptions for a piecemeal transformation of society into socialism. Examples are the 1925 Social-Democrat Heidelberg Programme and the concept of *Wirtschaftsdemokratie* (Democracy in the Economy) developed by the unions.

After 1945 labour movement and workers' education needed a long time before recovering from the devastating results of Nazi dictatorship and World War II, the division of Germany, and the capitalist restoration of the Federal Republic. The formation of an ideological, federated union and the achievement of a federation of industries meant organizational strength, but a large part of political-conceptual substance of the period before 1933 vanished. This can be observed in the functional change of a former labour party to a people's party, the acceptance of neo-liberal economic theories, the displacement of societal analysis by abstract ethical norms, and the loss of perspective in designing the future.

On the other hand, new developments in workers' education have taken shape during the past several decades. Not only has workers' education, as a union-based education and through enacted educational leave, experienced a considerable quantitative expansion; intra-organization work itself since the late fifties has for the first time become the focus of interest-related considerations of redesign. Work-related adult education takes up not only questions of wages, working time, industrial safety, and other working conditions, but also potential and perspectives of developing "brighter" work which tendentially transcend economic and societal structures. This makes it possible to arrange for work development tendencies and political strategies.

3. Workers' Education Today in Germany

Which are at present the institutions and fields of workers' education in the Federal Republic?

Workers' education in the sense outlined is not part of the general educational system, but the concern of free agencies. However, workers' educational institutions are subject to the same laws concerning state supplementary funding. Widely known are the unions and their affiliated institutions, e.g. *DGB Bildungswerk* (Network of Educational Courses and Premises) and *"Arbeit und Leben"* (Work and Life), supported by unions and Adult Education Centres with some state funds. Workers' education funded by political parties is much smaller than before 1933. This is particularly true of the Social-Democrats because of the shift from a workers party to a people's party. Educational courses provided by the study groups of the big political parties may be included among "workers' education": Study groups concerning workforce problems (AfA, Social-Democratic Party), Christian-Democratic Employees (CDA, Christian-Democratic Union), educational work of the Catholic Workers Movement (KAB), of the Christian Workers Youth, of Evangelical Industrial Clergymen's Office, and others. Special educational courses for workers in Adult Education Centres depend largely on the conception of their leaders and staff, and on the political biases of their funding agencies.

The content of workers' education in these institutions is predominantly political education. But the overwhelming part of adult education in the Federal Republic takes place in vocational education and training, most of it organized by trade and industry. Since participants of these vocational in-company courses are employees, wage-earners, a workers' education cannot be disinterested in such educational processes even though it has little direct influence on them. It must try (a) to influence the training and continuing education of full-time and part-time in-company trainers, (b) to instruct in-company functionaries, who are closely tied to outside unions, in the use of rights within the law of co-determination (a Federal Act on "Company Constitution").

Some other institutions offering long-term educational courses for workers must be mentioned. Among these are — sometimes in a restricted way — union institutes, residential adult education centres, academies like the Academy of Work in Frankfurt, the Social Academy in Dortmund, and the Academy for Work and Politics at the University of Bremen. These and other academies are attached either to colleges or college-like institutions.

A university prepared "workers' educator" — for instance a graduated educationalist who majored in workers' education — is rare, although there has been an increase of them in recent years. The number of part-time team leaders (mostly during educational leave seminars), but also of full-time course leaders and teachers has grown considerably. Yet these posts are usually occupied by those coming to adult education from vocational practice or industrial representation, some after training in other scientific fields. These are the reasons why workers' education is largely "professionalized" in courses funded by workers' education institutions and other sponsors. There is also a growing co-operation with colleges and related institutions.

A recommended course of study for college and university students wishing to major in workers' education as a career includes social studies, pedagogy, and those tracks which are closely connected with workers' problems: ergonomics, labour legislation, industrial law, vocational education, political science, economics, engineering etc. Incidentally, it is more than pure coincidence that you will find a great many adult education students among those graduated through the second way of education with a broad background of work and life experience.

Following the above stated necessity of firmly adhering to workers' education as an independent and socially justified educational task, one must also accept the necessity of elaborating workers' education as a pedagogical and social science discipline in teaching and research.

4. Conceptional Elements of Actual Workers' Education in the Federal Republic of Germany

Workers' education has the prime task of connecting the historical traditions of the labour movement with the unrealized requirements of abolishing alienated work as seen today. After World War II the best-known German publication on workers' education was Negt's *Soziologische Phantasie und exemplarisches Lernen. Zur Theorie der Arbeiterbildung* (Sociological imagination and exemplary learning. On the theory of workers' education), (1975; first edn.:1968). It contains — correctly understood — a tentative contribution towards the redesign of the labour movement against the background of the situation in the sixties. An orientation along the historical possibilities and failures to liberate, along the movement of social forces which have always to do with the reorganization and future development of the societal system of work — this is the fundamental goal-setting of workers' education still today.

At the time when Negt's book was written many said — even more say so today — that there are no more causes for social movements in the area of work. Men would direct their important interests towards spheres of life outside wage-labour. In contrast, workers' education had to insist on making the contradictory, conflicting reality of working life its subject matter, a reality often tabooed in public life. But workers' education stuck to "workers' existence", namely the total living nexus of workers and their families within which we find the intense reciprocities between experiences and needs on and off the job.

"Experiences" is a key concept in workers' education. Workers' education wishes to tie on to work and life experiences of participants, not only as a methodical principle but in the certitude that the design of one's own and collective life is meaningful only from experience worked through. All experiences brought along to educational courses are always forms of coping with reality imprinted by working and living conditions. Educational causes are the place — perhaps the most important one — where these coping processes are openly discussed, where experiences are debated and pondered in educational processes and thereby developed. In these courses of workers' education the participant meets with the collective experiences of the labour movement contained in organizational standpoints and structures, albeit often in reified and alienated forms which make it difficult for the "grassroots" to appropriate the (trade union) organization as a living body. It is, therefore, extremely important that those in labour movement organizations politically responsible for workers' education realize that organizational policies and structures to be "scrutinized" is the indispensable momentum of workers' education.

As was mentioned earlier, working life and experiences rarely appear in public or private media, though a little bit more today than thirty or forty years ago, but still too little. This is not so new, but in former times there were beginnings of a workers' counter-public through the rich organizational life of the labour movement with their own communication structures and media. All this is in bad shape today. Above all an in-company public where cooperative relationships and the production and working knowledge of the workforce could be discussed autonomously is underdeveloped. Workers' education serves as a substitute here. Yet to most workers the work organization and technology designed by employers for their own aims appears to be so "natural" and without alternatives that there is hardly any kind of counter-public of living, autonomous work and alternative production.

Workers' education has always had to do with the workers' movement; therefore, it cannot avoid looking at society as a whole, the design and construction of which is vital to it. When we talked of orientating workers' education along the struggle and movement of social forces, this does include a sober analysis — inexorable towards workers' organizations themselves — of the question where there is social movement and where there is not. Closely connected is the question of the aims and also utopias of societal development and the analysis of various societies.

Finally: Workers' education, having to do with the movement's intention to change society, has always kept close to social action, to praxis, as expressed in programmatic phrases such as "workers' education is purposeful education for social struggle" and in various demands that it should improve the practice of representation of workers' interests on all levels. Workers' education in its function for the workers' movement is highly determined by praxis. The political goals of workers' movement organizations, the action instruments they develop, the organizational structures they form, all influence workers' education. Since the different participating and organizing groups have additional instrumental demands as well, workers' education gets into intraorganizational power relations and conflicts. Participants in workers' education can defuse this situation by raising their awareness of this matter and discussing it openly.

5. Present and Future Tasks

Some problems requiring urgent solutions or at least treatment will be stated by way of concluding remarks. Contradictory developments must be pondered and cross-related.

As regards work, on the one hand it loses its quantitative importance. Its differentiations (e.g. women's housework), reaching far beyond traditional forms of industrial organization, are realized more and more by the general public. On the other hand, the more production is industrialized and automated, the more essential and responsible the remaining living work becomes. For the foreseeable future it will remain — in its forms of industrial organization — the centre of the material reproduction of society. He who disposes of these forms of organization will also dispose of a power-centre in society. Workers' education must relentlessly make this fact conscious.

The differentiation in workplace facts corresponds with differentiations among the employed. Polarizations are increasing between employed and unemployed, between stable and unstable jobs, between regular and part-time staff, between highly skilled and lowly skilled workers. This means for workers' education an extraordinary differentiation of addressee groups with their experiential backgrounds and interests, and at the same time the necessity to deal with these differences in the direction of a unification of an in itself differentiated class situation and a class perspective of the redistribution and reorganization of work.

The future of technology belongs to the future of work. Electronic data processing and information networks create a new type of rationalization: systemic rationalization. Decentralized use, and decentralized competence enlargement are possible, but as a matter of fact the centralization of information, decision-making, and controls, with all their dependencies prevails. Parallel with the systemic character of communication and information technology the necessity of their social adaptation is also seen increasingly. But concrete implementation of general ideas presents enormous difficulties. Workers' education would, in order to be successful have to (1) decipher technique and technology as a product of societal actions, (2) educate "appliers" (technicians, engineers) for the design and construction of development and application processes.

Social engineering will only be possible if the knowledge of work processes among the work force is better organized and mobilized for union goals, for autonomous collective participation in company decisions than in the past. The meshing of learning and action processes in implementing "co-determination on the job", which is a co-determination of each worker/employee, is the present imperative. We venture to forecast that the social design and construction of applied engineering processes will not happen without such a massive extension of co-determination at "the grassroots level". The preparation of such processes and the participation in them would, however, considerably change today's workers' education.

In recent years *culture* has been widely debated with several accents. On the one hand, there is a need for cultural expression and cultural activity springing from the risen standard of living and the possibility of blazing one's own trail. On the other, part of the debate is marked by a compensatory or even escapist mood: Culture is expected to be a stopgap for working life's frustrations. The usage of "culture" varies. Often it is applied in a restricted sense to artistic applications of "subcultural" forms of living. Then again the term is used for holistic strata or class specific forms and styles of organization, communication, and living. "Workers' culture" is subjected to the same vacillations and calls for a clarification of its actual meaning even more so than workers' education. This much is certain: a democratic culture worth its salt will include a collective social design of work and economy. The individual and collective nexus of lives cannot be "cultivated" by reproduction areas, let alone leisure-time areas.

It is another matter what mobilizing impulses for changes in work emanate from cultural activity and cultural movements off the job. Conservation of the environment and natural resources, disarmament and securing peace, women's liberation — these and similar goals sometimes create more societal movement than deep crises in work and economy. It is questionable whether these topics and movements are better suited for effectively tackling the roots of social power than the topics and fighting methods of the "old" workers' movement. Anyhow, problems show up that have not been solved by the "old" movement either. Workers' education ought to reflect the moving character as well as the "stagnation" of the "old" workers' movement, and also the reach of the "new social movements".

In various places didactic consequences of content-related problems of workers' education have already been mentioned. The general interlacing of in-company learning processes and co-determination, for instance, would confront workers' education with as yet unknown tasks of organization and methods of learning. Some particularly important problems chosen from a variety of requirements include:

- Differentiations, scientism, legalization of representation matters and with it the specialization and professionalization of interest groups are on the increase. Workers' education, on the one hand, must "feed" this process (by teaching and educating representatives) and critically "brake" it (by raising political consciousness of such tendencies). On the other hand, this very broad and hitherto neglected workers' education beyond the training of functionaries, must be expanded and intensified.
- The predominant organizational arrangement of adult education is "short-term pedagogy", in spite of all quantitative expansion. Owing to numerous adverse conditions, workers' education can rarely maintain or accompany continuous, long-term learning processes. Workers' education institutes, as well as the state, must make efforts to organize continuous education.

- Finally, independent studies and learning in organized educational courses must be aimed so that continuous learning is made easier. As regards workers' education in the Federal Republic of Germany, it must draw methodical consequences of its central goal: the individual and collective autonomization of working people combined with a strengthening of mutual solidarity, and this much more than in the past.

Summary: *The birth of Workers' Education was due to the emancipatory movement of the labour class in the nineteenth century. As an independent area of adult education, workers' education is unrenounceable as long as the system of the societal organization of work produces unnecessary forms of domination, inequality, and injustice. Workers' education disengages itself from referring predominantly to the traditional category of labourers. The lasting importance of development tendencies and perspectives of societal work notwithstanding, workers' education has never reduced itself to this core element of society. It has always topicalized the workers' existence as a whole and analysed social movement in relation to societal totality.*

A Note on the Author

Wolfgang Hindrichs, Professor Dr. phil., born in 1933. Senior academic employee on the staff of the Technical University of Hannover, Department of Political Science, form 1966 to 1972, and on the staff of the University of Dortmund, Department of Social Science, from 1972-1979, where he was also a member of the Regional Institute for Social Research. Professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen, since 1979, with labour education as his main field. Since 1986 also Director of the College of Labour and Politics, Bremen.

My first career was that of a classical philologist and protestant theologian, much impressed by such disparate people as George Thomson (classical Greece), Paul Tillich, and Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. The classical authors of the labour movement (Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Trotzki) came later, including those of the short soviet government movement in Germany (*Räteregierung*, Bavaria) after World War I (Richard Müller, Karl Korsch), and Herbert Marcuse, Peter von Oertzen, Wolfgang Abendroth, Theo Pirker, Oskar Negt after World War II.

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Part III
Education and the Humanities

The Importance of Sociology for Further Education

Wilke Thomssen

1. Further Education as an Independent Scientific Discipline or the Subject Area of Interdisciplinary Work?

An explication of the importance of sociology for further education must realize that historically speaking further education as a field of university teaching and research presupposes a relatively high level of diversification of the social sciences, including sociology. The pursuit of further education can therefore refer to the manifold offerings of social science knowledge and theories. This situation explains the heterogeneity of individual topics and queries available in it, and has given rise to an ongoing controversy whether further education is (a) and independent discipline or (b) a subject area accessible from various scientific disciplines only. Approaching a social science discipline under the aspect of what specific question it wishes to pose to social phenomena it is interested in, we must ask: What is to be understood by further education? Since when can we legitimately speak of further education as an independent area of university occupation with sufficiently developed questions and subjects? (cf. Tietgens, 1981).

The concept of further education gained popular appeal when the policy of the welfare state and educational reform expanded and made further education an essential part of its intervention area (cf. Körber, 1988). This happened during the later sixties when all social science disciplines reached a higher level of importance and at the same time influenced policy programmes for public welfare and educational reform, furnishing either background knowledge or concepts for direct action. In the course of this development political agents of further education took an interest in a sociological foundation of further-education practice, wishing to point up its societal relevance. We may say, therefore, that present-day further education has taken root only when this level of societal development was achieved.

A closer look at historical forerunners of modern further education — workers' and folk education, for instance — shows that they relied on socio-economic knowledge and humanist traditions even in their early days. Further education has always been an activity underpinned by science sharing the corresponding status of developments in philosophy and individual sciences. After 1945 the general term used was "adult education" [EB] guided by a predominant humanistic pedagogy, apart from the unions which regarded sociology as the foremost reference for their educational work.

One might think that replacing "adult education" by "further education" is just a modernization on the level of language, but in reality the concept of further education is connected with a socio-political conception taking leave of humanistic pedagogy, which itself has changed due to recent scientific developments. Pedagogy has been transformed into an educational science with an increasingly empirical and social science tendency adopting knowledge notably from sociology (Mollenhauer, 1972; Bernstein, 1977). If further education continues to see itself as part of educational science, then this understanding already includes a socio-scientification of pedagogy.

Whether this development implies a narrowing or extension of the conceptual framework is controversial. On the one hand, the philosophical and humanistic tradition is pushed back since the sixties; and this is certainly a narrowing. On the other hand, the social science turn has opened up new considerations of the social context which cannot be undone. A narrowing should be counteracted (which is actually happening), but not its social science foundation (which would also be narrowing).

With all this in mind, once again taking up the question of establishing further education as an independent area of scientific activity, my thesis is that:

> *further education in its present form — differentiations and changes since the later sixties notwithstanding — is to be seen as an interdisciplinary, structured field of scientific activity in an area of education becoming increasingly relevant to society and politics.*

In the further course of my exposition I shall proceed, therefore, in the light of its development during the later sixties only, and its establishment as a university study and training course.

If further education is understood in practical terms as an interdisciplinary arrangement of scientific activity availing itself of all social sciences, then sociology, psychology, economics, political science, educational science, and history are part of this new scientific construct. Further education can in principle make use of sociology overall if further education agents do this in their scientific or practical fields. What comes out of it for further education depends on whether sociologists deal with phenomena of further education and whether those active in scientific or practical fields adopt sociological inquiries and methods for the solution of their problems (Eggers & Steinbacher, 1977; Weymann, 1980; Schlutz, 1985). The introduction of sociology into further education has indeed given a new configuration to the activity profile and professionalism of the adult educator. The interpretation of professional action today is different from the time of the predominant humanities. In concrete terms: The sociological yield for further education is structured accordingly to the agents' preferences for either political economy, systems theory, critical theory, symbolic interactionism, constructivism, or combined constructs like feminist, peace, or ecological research. This suggests that sociology has variable importance for further education not only with regard to the general importance of sociology, but also with regard to individual explanatory sociological approaches. Even if one assumes that sociological knowledge and views, once received and worked through in the light of an interdisciplinary arrangement, have become part of further education, it must be considered that certain theories, categories, questions, or approaches have their ups and downs. In recent times further education has benefitted from a current trend in German sociology of the growing importance of hermeneutical and communication-theoretical approaches, particularly in microsociology, as opposed to structuralist, objectivist, or causal-analytical paradigms.

Looking at sociological contributions to further education in a narrower sense, we can make three distinctions:

- Sociology has always dealt with individual phenomena of further education, either in theory, by empirical inquiries into individual institutions of further education, or by direct participation in the design of curricula based on social sciences (Strzelewicz, 1966; Dybowski & Thomssen, 1976-82; Kejcz, 1979-81; Hindrichs, 1984). "Contribution" here means that sociology clarifies problematic situations in society relevant to further education and/or contributes individually to a pilot project.
- Other contributions of sociology are the fact that single inquiries or so-called hyphenated sociologies — separate stocks of knowledge — have gained either direct access to further education or been incorporated specifically. Examples include industrial sociology contributing to workers' education, women's studies contributing to women's education, or sociology of deviant behavior contributing to prisoners' education (Lenhardt, 1974; Derichs-Kunstmann, 1984; Braun-Heintz, 1980). Among this type of contributions we can distinguish those which become effective on the level of conception and planning, and those which are at the same time subjects of educational practice.
- In the course of its general dissemination, sociology offers theoretical background knowledge for conceptual and didactical problem solving. There is of course no clear-cut delimitation (Becker, 1982; Schmitz, 1984; Hoerning & Tietgens, 1989; Dewe, 1988). The specifically sociological knowledge of this structured background can be identified by the sociologist, of course, but for other professionals in the educational field boundaries of individual social science disciplines become muddled in the light of their multi- or interdisciplinary discourse which they use eclectically.

2. Central Impulses

Perhaps the most important impact of the theory and practice of further education came from the category of social inequality. Categories like power of people over people, exploitation, social suppression and discrimination could become publicly influential only when society itself was self-aware, did not regard human differences as merely "natural" and/or "God-made", but realized these as self-made in the course of an increasing socialization and result of intrinsic structural social inequalities. Thoughts about further education coincide with the origin of sociology in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

When Saint-Simon, the founder of sociology, pleaded and worked for the high value of education — not only of knowledge — to the working class, he implied the whole semantical context of "éducation" and wished to pursue several aims at the same time (Saint-Simon, 1957): The integration of workers into the new society, the enhancement of the productive and moral power of work, and workers' share of societal work. This semantics of equality/inequality runs through the whole history of further education, from workers' to folk and on to modern further education which derives its horizon of meaning from a welfare state policy. Social-democratic and union guided workers' education tied their conceptions into a revolutionary or social reform concept of society. Education and knowledge were meant to bring about solidarity among workers and the ability to fight politically, and not immediately and foremost and identification with society. The idea of a civil folk education, on the other hand, equally starting from the so-called "social question", followed the goal of a culturally integrated, harmony model of society.

In the mid-sixties the new concept of further education brought the inequality dimension to the fore again, pushed forward by the influence of a spreading sociology on the public debate. Terms like "underprivileged", "educational handicap", and "equal opportunities" originate in the sociological discussion of social inequality, class situations, realization of democracy, or the revival of the working class (Dahrendorf, 1965; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1971; Szell, 1972; Axmacher, 1974). This inequality debate is followed by corresponding further education policies, according to specific interpretations of inequality. In the discussion and practice of further education in the seventies we find social-integrative, productive-power-boosting, social-reformatory, and society-changing preferences. All these concepts were united in the idea that educational reform must be part of a general societal reform. Further education understood itself as a kind of societal praxis: as a medium of individual and collective emancipation and participation, liberation from dependency and humiliation, and involvement in the co-managing of public affairs.

Since the mid-sixties the sociological category of social inequality has served as the common denominator for debates and relevant areas of practical further education. Partial aspects of further education could thus be put into a larger societal context. Education and further education had become a question of the system itself, its maintenance and change. Details were queried for their system-integrating or society-changing potential.

The sociological inequality debate — Marxists preferred to talk in terms of class structure and class situation — not only influenced the general discussion of further education's place in society, but got right into individual didactic and curricular conceptions. The so-called target group conception will be taken as an example (Thomssen, 1988):

(A) It tries to split up in groups a community or region for which educational courses are to be developed. Groups are arranged according to socio-structural criteria. Their status should be marked by a certain degree of social inequality. From this special form of social inequality a particular educational handicap is derived which in turn leads to a didactic or curricular concept. The concept is then used for a topical treatment of the handicap.

(B) The sequence of the basic target group design is as follows:

(1) The societal situation is analysed for its inequality or class structure;

(2) The group's own underprivileged situation and social repression is acknowledged;

(3) A quest is embarked on for common ways to get out of this situation, together with others similarly affected.

There are other more "pedagogical" target group conceptions. In the above-mentioned design the sociologist is given the task (a) to determine the social criteria for the selection of social groups as target groups, and (b) to make available — within the curricular framework — societal analyses which would link the social situation of various target groups to society as a whole. Although the contribution of sociology is rather analytical, the target group conception presupposes that a comparatively direct step to practical action in unions or political parties can be taken. As of today, it is still problematic whether this conception has succeeded in transforming ideas of class theory into specific target group and curricular levels, and most important of all: whether it has created a solidary consciousness and action beyond single target groups. Nevertheless, the concept is regarded as a model for the reduction of social inequality.

Partly linked with the inequality debate, but topicalized separately in socio-politics and in so far analytically independent, is the conception of social change. It can be regarded as a second, central impulse of sociology to further education (Offe, 1975), particularly in the so-called qualifications debate. The rapid technical, economic, social, and cultural change of society makes school and vocational education look inadequate. Recurrent education is thought necessary for individuals and across society as a whole (OECD, 1973; Schmitz, 1975): for society, to secure the required knowledge and skills and adaptation processes; for the individual, to keep pace with the development and not to drop out of the inner structure of society. In this conception of social change further education is granted a prominent place. Its task is one of sustaining, overcoming, or balancing rifts and disparities between constantly changing working and living conditions in society and the tendentially "conservative habitus" of individuals. This applies not only for vocational or in-company requirements but also for a general habit of acceptance and political loyalty. This conception of social change as a category of political control is dominant in the further education debate in recent years, particularly in vocational and in-company training, where the inequality debate was added rather for legitimating reasons.

It is obvious that the question of social inequality has lately receded into the background. Education and further education are no more immediately regarded as part of societal reform, and the outline given of a "target group training" has lost its importance in favour of more modest ideas. The practical relevance of sociology being publicly in doubt, it is fair to assume that in further education — at least in certain areas — sociological thinking is handled more carefully, that is with fewer problem solving fantasies. No doubt a conception of social change can be concatenated with the reduction of social inequality to yield good political results (Hörning, 1976), but depending on which side is favoured in further education programmes, such programme becomes either a repair shop or a political force. However, instead of the equality postulate we do not have in its place one of social integration and adaptation only but, rather, one of identity. Just because of these societal rifts, disparities, and devastations there is also in recent years a rising interest in social and personal identity, in expanding cultural activities. One might say that the semantics of inequality has shifted from a collective to a more personal interpretation, in the sense that as personal needs and interests are repressed by society — irrespective of any class barriers — it is the task of further education to help express and develop these personal needs and interests.

Some particular sociological connections with various areas of further education such as workers' education, vocational training, and political-cultural education will be presented forthwith and the subjects of individual and cultural interest again considered, but as a sort of interim summary I wish first to explicate the meaning and four aspects of education in sociological terms:

(1) Education [B] — under the aspect of school-leaving and vocational training — serves social opportunities, especially the acquisition of social status, and the career on the job. Further education in this respect is a compensation and correction of fragmentary school and job careers.

(2) Education [B] — under the aspect of qualifications — means to enable the individual to cope with new or changing job requirements and to get on professionally or within the company. Further education in this respect has to develop educational courses in line with (a) objective changes in requirements and corresponding qualification profiles, (b) participants' personal learning and coping dispositions.

(3) Education [B] — under the aspect of emancipation — means the ability to develop capabilities for active participation in personally and socially relevant

matters both political and cultural, including those related to work or job. Further education in this respect has to promote emancipatory processes that have become fragmented or rudimentary in the past history. It faces the inability to anticipate sufficiently either goal or path.

(4) Education [B] — under the aspect of individuation — means that the person can see himself as a unique, talking and acting personality, near or close to culture and society, able to face society as an individual. This would imply that further education has to fulfil socio-politically conflicting tasks, namely to further not only socially helpful qualification resources and, derived from them, the seemingly objective interest of individuals, but at the same time to be socially and culturally sensitive to each person's individuation.

In all this sociology presupposes — to suggest just a few sociological meanings of the "adult" — that human beings are socialized members of society. Even their being individuals is stamped by society. Individuation is the outcome of socialization, or conversely modern society is unthinkable without individuals. The process of this individuation is described in more detail by the sociological terms of primary, secondary, and tertiary socialization. In it we find power and inequality structures, cultures and traditions of everyday-world discourse. The prevailing assumption in sociology is that all men are equipped by nature with the same potential of thinking, talking, and acting, or — somewhat weaker — that possible biological differences are not relevant for the explanation of societal and individuation phenomena. Differences among the members of society — classes, strata, and everything going on in them in terms of culture and individuality — are increased by the social background and individual socialization processes. As far as sociological theories focus on societal change, biographical development — prepared by primary socialization but going beyond it — is regarded as tending to be open and potentially designable and changeable by interactive and educational experiences. When talking of the individual being stamped by society, sociologists have in mind the individual's socialization process, meaning also that on a certain level of development society itself generates necessarily the individual's social gestalt, and once created, the individual is more than a social gestalt only; it is also its antipode. Inasmuch as further education is committed to such enlightenment and admits the concept of subjectivity besides collectivity, it refers to the sociological argumentation suggested.

3. Specific Affinities

Below the level of general theoretical impulses sociological thinking and knowledge take concrete shape in various branches of further education: workers' education, vocational training, and political-cultural education.

Workers' Education was and is most important for sociology. It always rested on a Marxian theory of society, its developments and versions. After World War II we can find the largest contribution of sociology to workers' education in industrial sociology. From a socialist perspective it was obvious to seek contact with those special branches of sociology which dealt with the social situation of the dependently employed and suggested action fields for union representatives. This is the reason why first and foremost recent research outcomes of industrial sociology from American, English, French, and a newly established German sociology are discussed in the unions for educational purposes and also result in curricula (Arbeit und Leben, 1961-62). Such research was about rationalization, technicalization, the industrial power structure, and the development of job qualifications. In addition to rather objective development tendencies which industrial sociology tried to connect with societal developments, theoretical and empirical inquiries into the societal consciousness of dependent employees prevail in the theory and practice of further education (cf. the empirical research in Popitz, 1961; Kern & Schumann, 1970; Lempert & Thomssen, 1974; Dybowski & Thomssen, 1976-82; cf. the theoretical debates in Negt, 1968; Deppe, 1971; Tjaden-Steinhauer, 1975; Thomssen, 1982). Workers' education — according to its own understanding — does not see in further education an instrument of societal integration, but an active tool of enlightening societal consciousness, the promotion of solidarity, of union representation and readiness for strike action, so that unions and their educational work take great interest in the changes of workers' and (a differing) employees' consciousness, and changed production methods and job structures. At a recent Metal Workers' Union congress (Germany's biggest single union) about the future, an industrial sociologist lectured on how to think about the modern worker, his job, and his consciousness. This should make clear that unions fall back on sociological knowledge in areas where they must fear to be subjected to unpleasant developments (Kern, 1988).

But sociology has also examined the unions themselves: organizational structures, the decision-making processes, forms and strategies of internal and external representation (Bergmann, 1979). It is impossible to say how much these inquiries have been accepted and heeded by the unions, although they are known among their educational staff. Union departments of education, from where impulses are given to the union's organization, are thought to be theoretically more enlightened. Nevertheless one must not forget that educational work by the unions is a function of their representative policy so that the acceptance of sociological knowledge in educational work is basically subjected to this function, even though there has always been a theoretical-political surplus of sociological thinking (Thomssen, 1979). This is particularly true of the area of co-determination, not least co-determination on the job. Sociological research into this field began as early as the fifties. By the end of the sixties certain groups in educational work — either staff or advisory sociologists — have developed a concept of co-determination on the job and used sociological expert knowledge derived from the interpretation of previous experience with the German co-determination law (Huss & Schmidt, 1972; Vilmar, 1973). Another example: During their educational work in the seventies sociologists of the IG Metall (metal workers union) developed a conception of "interpretation patterns" (*Deutungsmuster*)

(Dybowsky & Thomssen, 1976-82). It is a differentiation of the concept of societal consciousness and takes up relevant developments of sociology and social psychology. It turned out that this concept was not very popular among the staff of workers' education, on the one hand for political reasons, on the other hand because of too high demands during practical educational work in the place of work. While this "interpretation pattern" approach is talked about and practiced sporadically in union educational work — pointing to the fact that sociological thinking also has its ups and downs in certain societal contexts — the term itself has entered the debate about further education in the Federal Republic and its debate is as yet unfinished (Nuissl, 1989). The interpretation-pattern conception wishes to interpret subjectivity with greater precision, namely the particularities of the individual intellectual forms of reception and treatment. Its assumption is that the subjectivity of awareness is based on needs and interests which are interpreted individually as well, in spite of collective solidarities and constraints. There is doubt about this approach, but current union educational work acknowledges that participants will express their subjective needs and interests, more than usual and acceptable in the past, so that it is the task of educational work (both the unions' and others') to deal with participants' subjectivity differently and let it come out in the educational process (Johannson, 1990). Sociological objectivism — having moulded the debate for a long time with its categories of class structure, objective situation, objective interest — is on the wane in favour of a differentiation on the level of cultural and individual variety, so that union educational work also accepts cultural work to be an important area besides education, and this is done for just such a sociological interpretation of changes in subjective thinking and acting. Sociological keywords are "new individual life-style" and "cultural everyday-world".

Vocational Training as well can be considered under the sociological categories of social inequality and change. It is meant to facilitate career progress, prepare for new job requirements, and make the job secure; it ought to keep the unemployed fit for work and their social "virtues" ready for an early re-employment (Brödel & Schmitz, 1982; Schmitz, 1978). Recent vocational pedagogy is indebted to enlightenment and strives for a vocational education which can also be understood as a social emancipation. To do this it has learnt from sociology. Since the end of the sixties one can observe that next to the industrial sociology already mentioned, occupational, work, and labour market sociology have all been admitted into the debate of vocational training, all in the context of modern technology and rationalization processes and parallel developments in job qualifications (cf. the section on occupational upgrading in Weymann, 1980). One must, however, clearly distinguish between the theory and the practice of vocational training. Sociological knowledge has rather a function of background knowledge for the general framework of further education policy and its bearing on labour market policy, be it material or legitimizing knowledge. Possibly it also plays a role on a conceptual level and in certain pilot projects. In actual vocational training practice up and down the country sociological knowledge does not show up as an individual curricular element. The so-called integration of vocational, political, and general education has been a temporary phenomenon. It is being debated again on the level of education policy, but as yet with no practical result.

Curricular contents of vocational training are closely connected with any company's ideas of job knowledge and skills required. Furthermore, vocational training overall is guided by a model of social integration (or avoidance of social disintegration). The idea of social justice is reduced to avoiding the worst. This is why Wilfried Voigt in his contribution talks of vocational further training rather increasing than decreasing social differences. Strongly aiming for those job-holders who in industrial sociology parlance are called "rationalization winners" (Kern & Schumann, 1984) has led to the effect that vocational training helped most those with good job skills and knowledge. Vocational training of the unemployed has a different, rather socio-political function. Sociological questions and problems such as these are discussed among scientists, teachers and politicians of vocational training, but their findings are hardly, if at all, reflected in the practice of vocational training.

Political Education is — at least during the past twenty years — partly identical with workers' education, but there is overlap with socio-cultural further education and there are relations with vocational training. A number of statements regarding the effect of sociology on workers' education or vocational training also holds for political education.

Another remark is appropriate: political education is a subject very much topical in Adult Education Centres directly or indirectly funded by municipalities or districts. They can design their programmes relatively autonomously within a framework of general cultural and financial directives. Those centres supported by unions, parties, or churches also provide political education, but their political views of societal problems are subject to the aims and purposes of their institutions. They cannot design programmes independently. AECs are subject to the Basic Federal Constitution only (and the general idea of democracy) and must be open to all citizens without their having to expect priorities regarding political or confessional priorities. There is, however, a permanent latent tension between the political self-image of the AECs and the interests of the political administration.

In the wake of student unrest, a social-liberal coalition government, and a welfare-state policy, this relatively autonomous situation of the AECs is the foundation on which sociology for the first time can widely influence further education and political education (Thomssen et al., 1988). The increase in the number of full- and part-time staff carries into educational institutions a younger academic generation who had either studied sociology or gained sociological knowledge and argumentation in other fields. They have express recourse to the inequality and class-theory debate and see political education mostly as further education for the dependently employed and other socially underprivileged. The openness of the societal unrest permits them to give a new structure to political education. In doing this they can rely on their sociological knowledge and the experience gained during the student movement period with the ensuing socio-political commitment. Modernizing adult education to them spells "social scientism", a process rich in facets because of its internal controversies. Their professional job in further education is — in their opinion — enlightenment of societal situations and structures using sociological categories. Often they overstep the boundaries of scientific discipline and attach themselves to socio-political discourses in which enlightenment — including scientific enlightenment — has to demonstrate its relevance for actions and interests of the working class.

Analysing programmes of the seventies and eighties in more detail would show various subjects taken directly from sociology such as social structure analysis, educational sociology, socialization theories, and political sociology. We may add courses covering numerous social and societal problem areas like co-determination at school, consumer protection, tenants law, village restoration, refuse disposal, and democracy in everyday life, where often sociological queries prevail. Staff members of political education do not often take scientific sociology as a guideline, but start rather from the complexity of a societal problem in question, selecting social science theories and explanatory approaches suitable for that problem, including those from psychology, economics, and history.

A complete listing of those subject areas would go beyond the scope of this description which is one made from a mainly sociological point of view. For sociology, its societal subject matters are not a primary characteristic of identification, and in further education the queries and approaches are also more important than subject matter demarcations. I shall now mention five such approaches for a better understanding:

(1) In developing its programmes an Adult Education Centre of a medium-sized town (Norden) in a large rural area with much unemployment is guided by a sociological interpretation of "provinces drifting away from their large cities" and its possible consequences for people's political behaviour. The Centre therefore develops a concept of community work trying to fulfil multifunctional community and regional tasks beyond the traditional activities of adult education (Adena & Petry, 1989; Thomssen et al., 1988:295-367).

(2) A large city AEC develops a programme from an angle of specific forms of social inequality and the educationally disadvantaged among certain sociological groups. It develops a pedagogical concept translating sociological descriptions of certain underprivileged groups into a didactic, curricular concept (Bremer Volkshochschule, 1977; cf. "Legislation" in Appendix).

(3) Educational science develops a curriculum concept that ties in curricular decisions to the life situation of people. Life situation as a sociological interpretation requires previous sociological research (Robinsohn, 1967; Damerow, 1974). The same holds for a curriculum theory making "societal requirements" its yardstick for curricular design.

(4) An educational concept developed mainly for workers' education regards the social experience of societal conflicts as its central principle of design in order to initiate learning processes by means of "sociological imagination" based on the two sociological categories of social experience and social conflict (Negt, 1968; Brock, 1978).

(5) Another concept is also developed in workers' education and has already been mentioned: the interpretation-pattern. It shares much with the experiential approach, but puts an accent on the interpretation process for the constitution of consciousness. It mistrusts the direct educational drive of social experiences and social conflicts. It assumes for its didactical reasons that experiences are always interpreted experiences, so that changes in collective or individual interpretation-patterns happen only within the interpretation process of social reality (Dybowski & Thomssen, 1976-82; Thomssen, 1980).

These different approaches are not sharply divided; nevertheless, various sociological interpretations of societal situations and forms of consciousness are attached to them leading to corresponding priorities for the design of educational processes. The discussion of these approaches is partly controversial because of different political implications.

4. Recent Perspectives

Quite recently some topical innovations are available that do not totally discredit older concepts, but shift the emphasis. With a decrease in the importance of political education and in classical understanding of politics in general, it is certainly correct to speak of a declining role of sociology in further education. On the other hand, sociology has become sort of commonplace, has been absorbed by other scientific and political discourses and entered into everyday theories of educational practitioners.

The concept of society — or as we like to say in Germany: the concept of societal totality which holds together all scientific or practical phenomena and requires them to be evaluated, including their practical consequences — has lost its relevance. Instead a "rediscovery of identity" has happened (Krappmann, 1971; Voß, 1984; Leu, 1985).

There has been an obvious turn in sociology during the last ten years which seems to make progress in other social science fields as well. Shifts in the meaning of politics are an expression of such discourse on the new subjectivity. Societal structures are no more in the foreground, but rather a concept of politics guided by everyday-theory and self-orientation including elements of the psyche, the body, and the aesthetic culture (Tutschner, 1988).

This interpretation of politics has been pushed forward particularly by the women's movement and other new social movements. The increasing importance of biographical studies corresponds well with this new turn (Alheit & Dausien, 1985). It has occasionally been transferred to curricular approaches. In fact, in further education the concept of society seems to be replaced more and more by everyday-world — a term from a philosophical and sociological tradition — although with certain reductions inherent in such transformations. Reference has to be made here to Habermas' theory of communicative action (Habermas, 1981, 1983), where the concepts of everyday-world (*Lebenswelt*) and communication for the sake of coming to an understanding are closely linked with cultural diversity and plurality. While the critical concept of society — rooted in Marxian tradition — is no longer the key point of reference for political education, the enlightening impulse is still around in recent topics of philosophy, psychology, and cultural sociology. Enlightenment, however, is no more an unquestioned political ethic; it needs interpretation in the context of post-modern discourse openings. This tendency is supported by a recent interpretative sociology harking back to traditions of philosophical hermeneutics and a "*verstehende*" sociology.

Summary: *Further education as an area of university teaching and research rests on a rich stock of social science knowledge and theories, including sociology. It is, therefore, a cross-disciplinary field for the scholarly study of an educational sector important to society. Two main impulses of sociology to further education are examined: A theory of social inequality and a theory of social change. The importance of sociology for labour education, vocational development, and socio-political education are considered in more detail.*

A Note on the Author

Wilke Thomssen, Professor Dr. phil., born in 1933, studied sociology and philosophy at the University of Frankfurt and did research work at the Institute for Social Research under Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno where he also met Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas (1960-1967). His doctoral thesis was on industrial conflict. He moved to the Max-Planck-Institute for Research in Education in Berlin in 1968 and worked on the relationship of vocational career patterns and industrial and political attitudes until 1979. This led to the idea of introducing the sociological theory of interpretation-patterns to the debate concerning adult education. He became Professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen, in 1979, specializing in the sociology of work and education. In recent years he carried out empirical research on the impact of sociological thinking on the professional and political self-concepts of adult educators.

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Education Science and Adult Education

Erhard Schlutz and Wilfried Voigt

1. On the Status of a Science of Education

The importance of an education science [ES] for thoughts on adult education [AE] seems obvious, though neither unequivocal nor undisputed.

It is easy to dispel the concern that AE has to do with legally and politically mature adults in contrast to youth education. Adults do not need educative teaching any more; an education science, therefore, is out of place here. But the term ES itself became current in the nineteen sixties only, replacing "pedagogy" (the traditional name in German), and was meant to stress "science", not "education". The idea behind an educational science was to concentrate on the analysis of learning and education [B], not to promote educative teaching. The idea of an anti-pedagogy — the abolition and superfluity of education — has, by the way, always been a topic of educational thinking.

There is another argument against ES being the exclusive province of AE: Other than school instruction the education of adults takes place in an open social space which is decisively influenced not only by the biography and psychical structure of adults, but also by key economic data, political and societal developments. Therefore psychology, sociology, economics, political science carry more weight with regard to adult education than in other educational courses. Most universities offering formal AE programmes include studies of sociology and psychology. The University of Bremen's department of AE has had its courses designed cooperatively from the start by professors from different backgrounds.

During the last two decades ES itself has enlarged its spectrum of subjects, its queries, and its research repertory to such a degree that it is hard to distinguish from other social sciences. This expansion does not make it easier to decide its rank in the concert of disciplines. Sometimes there is no clear-cut boundary in a research project between sociology and education. In practical terms this demarcatory problem can be solved by calling ES everything which is done by educationalists. This indeed makes the meaning of ES less equivocal with regard to the scientific treatment of adult education. In 1969 educational scientists initiated the graduation of *Diplompädagogen*. Most of the forty to fifty German professors who concentrate on adult education are educationalists. The German Association for Education Science has a Committee for Adult Education with some 120 contributors. Of the adult education Ph.D theses written during the last decade, about 140 came from education science departments, 60 from sociology, and 30 from psychology departments. It is true, though, that a large portion of adult education research is done outside the universities, in institutes where social scientists dominate.

But such a numerical argument is insufficient. We ought to know the difference in content between ES and other disciplines. Von Hentig (in Gudjons, 1986:69) sees ES as "*the systematic endeavour to find out and present the conditions of bringing up and education, of teaching and learning — hence the conditions of pedagogical actions and intentions*".

According to Menck (in Herrmann & Oelkers, 1988), ES should hark back more to educational practice, have an interest in the success of education (in the light of emancipation or identity-formation, to name but two), and be aware of the contradictory nature and proclivity to ideology of any educational task. Essential criteria of an education science seem to be a linkup with educational practice and a job-orientation of pedagogues. Their value seems to be or become unclear if and when a corresponding educational professionalization is controversial or halting (Schlutz & Siebert, 1988). For this reason an ES has to take on the tasks of building general theories, of continuing research, and of teaching didactics. All three of them will now be discussed with adult education in view, by first characterizing the state of education science at a time when academic positions in AE were created to a larger extent. Then the interplay of ES and adult education during the last twenty years will be outlined.

2. Traditions of an Education "Science"

2.1 The Pedagogy of the Humanities (*Geisteswissenschaften*)

From the end of the nineteenth century to the nineteen sixties the so-called humanistic (or *geisteswissen-schaftliche*) strand has been dominant in German pedagogy. It had won its scientific recognition directly from the foundation of the humanities in Germany by Herder, Humboldt, Schleiermacher, and Dilthey. It gained practical influence from 1900 to the twenties as a theory of significant educational reform movements like the "reformative pedagogy", the "arts education movement', "rural residential school movement", the "work school movement", the youth movement; and furthermore with the "citizens'" adult education (the so-called "new direction") of the Weimar Republic, and again after World War II in the beginnings of the Federal Republic. Essential aspects of humanistic pedagogy are:

(1) The Accent on Historicity and the Refusal to Make Definitive Statements about Education:

The reality of society, the educational practice embedded in it, and the ideas about humans and their development are seen as historically growing and in flux. "*What man is, and what he wants, he becomes aware of only in the development of his essential being (Wesen) through millennia and never ever to the last word, never ever in universally valid concepts...*" (Dilthey, 1958:57). Just as the existing educational institutions, problems and theoretical statements are expressions of certain historical processes and societal relationships, so they can only be changed against the background of historical alternatives and designs, but not by means of abstract goal-setting or dogmatic systems.

(2) The Practice vs. Theory Relationship:

Theory follows practice. Theory should help practitioners to deal with pedagogical problems. Science and practice are a unity or rather a circle: theory looks into existing practice, enlightens practitioners for their better understanding of it, and then looks again at an improved practice derived from this better understanding.

(3) The Claim of a Relative Pedagogical Autonomy:

This claim is founded on the task of pedagogy to help learners develop their personality and capabilities and to provide pedagogical criteria for it. It requires a pedagogical room initially free from church, state, and other lobbies. They could take part in the design of educational processes, but should accept the very meaning and autonomy of the pedagogic dimension.

(4) The Demand for a Pedagogical Point of Reference

Educators or teachers are, of course, also representatives of society and culture, but their primary task is to help others to develop their full potential. This will not succeed through abstract knowledge or general rules; it needs personal commitment in real situations and authentic involvement. Pedagogues are "responsible for the person" (Nohl, 1933/1966:18)

Education [B] was the lodestar of humanistic pedagogy and didactics. Everything going on in a teaching-learning process was thought to be measurable with the yardstick of what it contributed to the individual's education [B]. In the German tradition the concept "*Bildung*" conveys an idea of the self-development ("*formation*") of human beings far beyond any kind of socialization or qualification processes, and has accordingly also been used critically against prohibitive conditions in society (Heydorn, 1979). It is true that humanistic pedagogy has not always escaped the danger of restricting its idea of education [B] to a purely inward progress or a pedagogical preserve. The German Committee for Instruction [E] and Education [B] went even further in an expert memorandum on adult education (Deutscher Ausschuß, 1960), still strongly inspired by the humanist pedagogy: "*Having adult education in mind, we call well educated those whose constant endeavour is to understand* *themselves, society, and the world, and to act accordingly.*" The connection of learning and acting is seen correctly — education [B] is a process, not a static aim — but the definition is still self-centred. Society is regarded as static and unchangeable; education [B] has a lot to do with enlightenment, but little with work, sensuality, or play. The question is whether such an ambiguous concept should not simply be dropped or replaced by concepts like learning or socialization, as the subsequent strand of ES has done? "*As... regards the future, it is at least likely that we are on the threshold of an age in which consciousness can be technically manipulated. The implications are evident if at this very moment didactics [*and adult education, author's note] *would abandon the humane maturity and personal autonomy postulated by the normative conception of education [B]*" (Blankertz, 1980:42).

Humanistic pedagogy meant didactics to be "educational curriculum", the choice of contents and its educative goals. A more comprehensive concept, such as ours, could define didactics as follows:

> *A theory of didactics has to deal analytically and as a guideline (a) with the design and construction of teaching-learning processes, including the occurring interaction within them, and (b) with the nexus of power, interests, and evaluations which strongly influence decisions concerning goals, contents, and methods.*

In humanistic pedagogy "didactics" is — in contrast to this definition — doubly reduced: the societal framework is regarded as given, unchangeable, and remains unintegrated. The connection between content and method is severed, although it must be said that human pedagogy had a comprehensive view of "method", not restricted to various procedures, but including the general educational "style" and "tactfulness" in actual situations.

The critique of humanistic pedagogy suggested here can be extended to its four basic characteristics and its general function as a science. Humanistic pedagogy lacks above all an in-depth analysis of its subject matter: the structural elements and structural power of society, the role of educational institutions, and the influence of unconscious motivations and drives. The due and important acknowledgment of the historical became the "*danger of a mere confirmation of traditional practice*" (Wulf, 1978:55). The justified demand for pedagogical autonomy became the illusion of pedagogy being already in its own preserve. The demand for an educational point of reference disregarded the independent weight of subject matters, educational frameworks and roles, which can all lead to educationalists being overburdened and self-deluded. Eventually its close theory-practice relationship tempted educationalists to part company with other scientific developments such as the trend towards empirical research; the more so since they did not expect fact finding itself to influence educational actions.

This small awareness of the value of empirical research and research development are the more amazing as humanistic pedagogy has developed its own evaluation procedure, the hermeneutical method. Dilthey (1958) saw the distinctive feature of the humanities in the "understanding" *(Verstehen)* of their subject matters as the only access, whereas natural science matters required explanations. The natural science separation between inquiring person and research object was thus intended to be partly abolished. Hermeneutical method would encompass more adequately the complexity of social reality with its desires and norms and historical background. This understanding [V] originally was concerned with texts, was then extended to cultural matters, and finally to reality in general. Admittedly practice did not correspond with this aim. Weniger (1975) for instance, trying to explore the complex school reality, has in a first step reduced reality to the better researched curriculum, i.e. a text, and thus produced a "theory of educational content and curriculum" from what was meant to be an inquiry into the teaching-learning nexus. One must credit humanistic pedagogy, though, with having brought forth many scholars knowledgeable beyond their own field, but with no adequate equipment for research (judged by today's standards). But at least one feature of the hermeneutical method does indeed correspond with the theoretical self-image of this strand of pedagogy: empathy and feeling at home in a culture results in understanding this culture well, but not beyond it, since critiquing it is outside the scope of this method.

2.2 Empirical-Analytical Education Science [EW]

In the mid-sixties humanistic pedagogy has been replaced by an empirical-analytical research approach. The main reason for it is certainly the beginning debate about a comprehensive educational reform. Education policy and practice expect science to give precise information about the state of the education system and guidance towards its improvement, that is, diagnostic-prognostic knowledge of the "if — then" kind. Humanistic pedagogy could not help with that. There have been and always will be representatives of humanistic pedagogy, but empirical-analytical research became paradigmatic, and as it were overwhelmed the former strand, because the trend was not only towards a "realistic turn in pedagogical research" (Roth, 1963), but also towards a fundamental change "from pedagogy to education science [EW]" (Brezinka, 1969).

This research has doubtlessly increased our knowledge of basic conditions and designs of educational processes. Education science [EW] can no longer do without empiricism. The enlightening impetus of empirical research was to take blind spots out of the teaching-learning complex, to undercut ideologies and unfounded power and truth claims by confronting them with an empirically founded picture of reality. This became problematic in so far as this type of science soon began to avoid the debate of an educational paradigm and its societal implications. There were internal and external reasons for this: On the one hand, the scientific character of sampling, surveying, and processing evaluation methods became more important than the relevance of the inquiry; on the other hand, research sponsors specify their own aims. But also the other, rather technical promise of empirical-analytical research, was only partly accomplished: the optimal mastery of educational processes on the strength of scientific offerings. Educators were flooded with knowledge about the psyche and social presuppositions of learners or their own attitudinal "syndromes", but this rarely yielded useful overviews or laws from which to draw in practice. Educational events apparently are too complex or stochastic for educators to be tightly reined by science. The holistic ideas of humanistic pedagogy about style and tactfulness appear in the end to come closer to educational action than detailed empirical analysis.

In opposition to humanistic pedagogy, empirical-analytical education science reverses the theory-practice relationship: Science is now in the lead for changes in the educational field. Teachers are but the underlings of planned processes, as evidenced in a technical understanding of didactics and in curriculum research being made the key problem of educational reform. " Education reform as a curriculum revision" (Robinsohn, 1966) was propagated, where curriculum — a term rediscovered in the German debate — meant a fundamental connection of decisions concerning goals, contents, and learning organization to be consolidated into one syllabus or course design. Occasionally it looked as if all traditional schooling and subject matters were dismissible. Robinsohn defined education [B] as the equipment to cope with events in life. Curricular research would have to find out life's most decisive events, than derive the required qualifications and transform them into learning goals, contents, methods, and media for corresponding courses. The idea may be fascinating and useful as a guiding model for planning adult education, but empirical-analytical research, which was thought to profit from it, was unable to get on with it. From the angle of a value-free science it is hard indeed to state what the "life situation" includes — apart from the immediate work surroundings — because situations do not show up by themselves, but can only be recognized in the light of human aims and ideas. Another attempt caused similar problems, namely to derive learning goals from generally defined situational competencies which were applicable in concrete teaching. It appeared that there was no clear-cut relation between learning steps and learning goals with different grades of abstraction from which it could be derived, but that the same qualifications could be attained by various matters and methods (or vice versa). Ultimately curricular research was reduced to the examination of existing curricula according to prescribed patterns or to expert surveys concerning individual steps of courses planned.

2.3 Critical Education Science

Representatives of this third strand turned against prescribed curricula (Meyer, 1979). A curriculum is always the product of an evaluative decision process and does not simply follow from inherent requirements. Curriculum planners have to give thoughtful reasons for their decisions concerning goals, contents, and methods. These preliminary decisions must be subject to revisions according to teachers' and learners' needs. Each curriculum has to remain open to discourse, to learners'interests in contents and methods. With this in mind, Robinsohn's reference point — coping with life (situations) — makes sense, provided that target groups themselves can define the situations with which they wish to deal.

Critical education science in the late sixties/early seventies was a countermovement against the empirical-analytical strand and its idea of a technical educational reform, but it was itself part and parcel of that reform movement because the reform itself was a blend and overlap of tendencies striving for the further development of the techno-economic complex and others seeking the democratization, if not revolution, of the whole society through education (among others). Critical education science opposes the self-imposed restriction of the empirical approach with its possible value-free, objective research: "*It is a constitutive principle of educational science that the goal of educative teaching [E] and general education [B] is the person's mature independence. Thus understood, a theory draws its yardstick for criticism from its interest in abolishing reification and self-alienation of man. It turns critically against all educational situations which continue reification — the suppression of reason — or against those who cannot oppose it.*" (Mollenhauer, 1975:10).

From this standpoint critical education science formulates its criticism both of humanistic pedagogy and of restrictive empirical approaches. In view of the first it asserts the societal embedding of educational processes, and in view of the second the importance of scientific criticism and interest in emancipation. This position corresponds to a definition of a critical social science proposed by Habermas (1969), the social philosopher. He has tentatively divided modern sciences into three types, each following a different knowledge-guided interest and opening up individual approaches to knowledge. The empirical-analytical type of science with its methods of observation, experiments, questionnaires, and explanatory argumentation would correspond to a knowledge-guided interest in mastering nature, for instance through work. The historical-hermeneutical type of science with its methods of interpreting texts, participant observation, and "understanding" argumentation would correspond to an interest in societal cooperation within the medium of language. A critical sociology unmasking power through criticizing ideologies would correspond to an interest in emancipation and mature independence. Habermas equates these three types to a large extent with natural sciences, the humanities, and sociology. A critical education science has transferred this triad onto the internal debate of the direction educational science is to take, and has declared itself to be the critical and thereby most progressive one.

Critical education science is in itself no unity, but distinguishes itself according to the foundation of its criticism and counterproposals. They all range from a renewal of the traditions of German educational reform movements, or the final goal of a non-autocratic discourse (Habermas, 1969), to outright Marxist ideas of revolutionizing the class-society. Such criticism has had a lasting influence on a host of educationalists who studied during the "student's movement" and were employed in large numbers. It left traces in educational thought. None the less, this current carries unresolved contradictions. First of all it is doubtful whether an education science that is obliged to become practical pretty soon can be as critical-radical as other social science trends from which it has borrowed the label. Pedagogues cannot stop acting (and hoping), even under circumstances which are as worth criticizing as they are hard to change. Pedagogics is on the horns of "*a dilemma between wrong positiveness and abstract negation without consequences.*" (Keckeisen, 1983:130). This knowledge made some representatives of a critical educational science call their direction "critical-constructive" (Klafki, 1985). Very often criticism is all there is, but it was quite productive in exposing handicaps, educational ideologies, and covert claims to power. It was less successful in dealing with the constructive, helpful to practice, essentially because borrowings from socio-critical theory helped to understand the totality of societal structures and development, but the individual rarely caught a searching eye, let alone educational tasks and situations. Fairy tales, for instance, were critically and rather rationalistically scanned for potential ideologies, role stereotypes and unenlightened contents, disregarding their deeper meaning for the child's development and absorptive mode. Where something more constructive happened it was due to traditional educational acquisitions and not to the transfer of socio-critical assumptions onto the pedagogical field.

Critical education science gained its momentum from that part of the education reform concerned with democratization, and its strength from the weakness of an educational science to contribute to the unavoidable questions of evaluative goal setting and the embedding of theory and practice in society. It is to its merit to have kept these problems alive. However, it has not pushed its criticism far enough, insofar as it was mainly "critical" in dissociating itself from previous scientific strands without much self-doubt about its own judgement. This would have led, perhaps, to a less sharp division among analytical, critical, and "understanding" methods; a requisite for developing educational research any further (König & Zedler, 1982).

3. "Realistic Turn" and Scientification of Adult Education

There were scientific and philosophical considerations of adult education long before the institutionalization of adult education since the end of the sixties, but they were closely connected with the social movements of folk and workers' education or with specific tasks of adult education. Inquiring into the source of its reflective potential, one can see a strong parallel between the historical roots of adult education and Habermas' three concepts of science (on which the educational strands outlined earlier are based). Three phenomena can be found at the beginnings of European adult education (Olbrich, 1982): Civic enlightenment, industrialization and its need for qualifications, and emancipatory movements of the nineteenth century — above all workers. From them arise three strands and requirements, each having its own affinity towards one of the three types of science sharing a common ground: Citizens' education with its interest in enlightenment and culture has predominantly nurtured an educational idealism close to humanistic pedagogy. Labour movement and workers' education have always referred to historical and dialectical materialism (economics and sociology in particular), less to pedagogy. The interest in knowledge and skills, more than ever recognized as the true motor and winner of further educational development, has prevailed so to speak as an inherent technological necessity underpinned by the positivistic imprint of corresponding special disciplines. Conversely we may assume that a temporary dominance of one type of science in dealing with adult education points to a priority of a certain adult education tradition in public debate.

Three parallel developments can be seen in the second half of the sixties, with the demand for modernization of economy and society in the background — including the education system:

- The "realistic turn of adult education", meaning its opening up to certification and vocational learning, as well as to an attempt of establishing it as a fourth sector of the education system under the new, official name of Continuing Education (*Weiterbildung* — for further clarification see Bremen Legislation on Continuing Education further on).
- The "realistic turn" of pedagogy into an educational science, sometimes as a technocratic, sometimes as a critical accompaniment of the beginning educational reform.
- A strong push towards scientism in adult education when it became an independent scientific area within the universities, mostly attached to education sciences.

What was expected of this science was in the first place (1) arguments for "lifelong learning", for the necessity to expand adult education, and for research of the required skills and knowledge; (2) research concerning the required skills and knowledge, the educational needs of the population, and the possible shape of an adult education system. The strands sprung from the three historical interests in adult education have loudly voiced their position: The interest in qualifications with educational-economic arguments, the citizens' adult education with arguments taken from democratic rather than educational theory, and the labour movement — strengthened by the students' movement — with political-economic criticism of capital interests and of false hopes of career prospects and democratization raised by the educational reform (Schlutz, 1987).

A striking fact from a current and educationally scientific view is that spokesmen of all positions — whether critics or apologists of an expanding adult education — in the final analysis were convinced of a societal function of adult education and of the scientific feasibility of educational and even societal reform. Educational economics and sociology appeared to be temporarily in higher demand that education science. As a consequence education science in theory-building and research changed into a social science, occasionally losing sight of its own essence. The public scientific debate of critical approaches was passionate, whereas in practical research empirical-analytical procedures prevailed. Humanistic pedagogy faded into the background even among a more civic adult education: Long before the realistic turn it had to suffer the reproach of clinging to cultural-critical ideas of the twenties and of disregarding in its theoretical thoughts a practical drive towards vocational further training (Dikau, 1981). It then became evident that its instruments and categories could neither sufficiently describe or explain the socialization of adult education nor assist in the technical improvement of the adult education area.

In theory building the search was above all for clear-cut arguments for and against a further institutionalization of adult education (from making it the fourth pillar of the education system to the demand of completely deschooling society); whereas a slowly developing adult education research was working on subjects like the adults' ability and motivation to learn, curriculum design, educational policies for adult education, and occasionally teacher and leadership behaviour of educators. Here again the empirical-analytical approach dominated — promising to be more scientific — but the boundaries between positions were less tight than in theory building. An example was the first large-scale inquiry into teaching and learning behaviour of adults (Siebert & Gerl, 1975), counting on the interactional behaviour in socio-cultural adult education courses and in its method guided by an empiricist ideal of objectivity. Its overall intention was, however, to oppose critically real behaviour with proclaimed self-pretence.

The most comprehensive and important research of its time about the educational consciousness and motives of the population (Strzelewicz, 1966) is even more difficult to fit in among the three ideal types of science. The representative survey brought to light on the one hand the high esteem in which adult education was held at a time when it seemed hardly established, and the strata dependence of actual attendance on the other hand. Linking sociological and educational queries was built into the programme, and so was the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the latter preferred in group discussions which made visible — behind the apparently adapted striving for gratifying education and employment — a personal hope of self-actualization and social participation.

Towards the end of the sixties and during the seventies there is also a beginning of adult education becoming more professionalized, insofar as apart from management many institutions employed additional full-time educators, mainly to develop and plan wider fields (whereas teaching itself was mostly left to part-timers). Since this activity and the whole task of developing adult education was new and new employees ought to have been interested in help from science, a real possibility of close cooperation between theory and practice seemed promising. This has happened here and there, usually arranged by the educational committees of the Adult Education Associations, but less than expected. The reasons are, amongst others, as follows:

- Adult education as a science was just beginning to establish itself at universities and needed time for the treatment of basic problems, while practitioners wanted manageable models and fresh data.
- The traditional stock of educational science ready for use was regarded among scientists and practitioners alike as too school-related; this ran counter to a professional self-understanding.
- Many new employees had studied subjects close to their work, but neither educational nor social science.

- Moreover, after the beginning of the education reform the sciences, including large parts of educational science, began switching to global concepts of adult education (or to global criticism thereof), while the concrete design ranked lower in the hierarchy of social policy or science, if it was not seen as a negligible remainder altogether.

The common interest of science and practice was thus essentially concentrated on the curriculum problem which looked as fruitful for the totality of adult education (keyword: modules) as for concrete planning. The influence of curriculum theory and research can be gathered from the development of the certification system introduced by the German Association of Adult Education Centres, internationally recognized by now, and also from corresponding literature guides for course directors. The curriculum approach was decisively deepened not only by its application to course design but also to the problems of open target group work where references to participants' experiences, self- and co-control carried more weight.

With regard to didactics as a whole there was little scientific assistance. Practice developed its own discourse on matters didactic step by step, springing from different sources: a conception of tasks developed against "schooling", more or less conscious loans from school or course didactics, an increase of one's own experience and research. Rarely did science offer its own didactical design or take up those coming from practice. Other questions were considered to be scientifically more valuable. Even educationalists in adult education sometimes tried to dissociate themselves from their traditional fields, which resulted in adult education's losing much previous work done in teaching and learning research, for example.

An effort to describe the adult learning situation primarily as a pedagogical field and to find out its central didactic forces remained a rare exception (Teitgens & Weinberg, 1971). Typical for the reluctance to work through educational stocks is the amazing fact that the two contributions of that period still taken into account for didactics came from non-educationalists, although both refer to earlier work in educational science:

(1) Brocher poses the question how adults can sustain or gain their autonomy under group pressure to conform, and what group leaders can do about it (Brocher, 1967). The book is influenced both by psychoanalytic concepts and Dewey's group pedagogy. It still is the book with the largest circulation among adult educators and educationalists, to the effect that its basic ideas are now commonplace: Learners should not consume passively; learning depends on affective processes, on a good group, and on an anxiety-free atmosphere. Group leaders ought to know the problem of transference and counter-transference, be aware of unconscious effects. As Brocher has but little knowledge of content-related tasks that educators have to deal with beside psychological functions, his book runs the risk of demanding too much of group leaders.

(2) Negt (1968) does this differently in a suggestive concept for the development of workers' or class consciousness based on a shared experience of conflicts.

He uses the principle of exemplary learning much cherished by humanistic pedagogy, taking as examples those conflicts which are typical for the societal and life situation of workers. Being a sociologist, Negt is more interested in the grand design than in the methodical execution of this idea and was astonished to see that union team leaders in their own educational work converted his concept into a rather rigid step-by-step method.

4. "Reflective Turn" and the Consolidation of Education Science

It is an adequate simplification to characterize periods like the twenty years under consideration as "turns", and justified only because the overview gains in clarity. During the last decade — if not since the mid-seventies — education science has changed its topics and perspectives. Various key terms are used: Everyday-life turn, life-world or subjective orientation, in adult education often a "participant-orientation" or even a "reflective turn" (Schlutz, 1982). The previous phase had much dealt with problems of societal and economic development, with the educational system, the conceptualization of larger educational projects. Now other subjects come to the fore: biographical self-constitution and identity, everyday-life and life-world as approaches and goals of educational processes, learner orientation and its interests in everyday-life interaction forms and situational interpretations.

This "turn" could be interpreted as (1) a reaction to the past neglect of such subjects, also with a view to practical requirements (Thiersch, 1978), (2) as a consequence of critical demands for an end to schooling, as resistance against the instrumentalization of education [B], or conversely as a resignatory withdrawal from "large" concepts to situations within your grasp, a resignation quite understandable considering the end of endeavours to reform education. However, it must be said that this turn is not found in adult education nor education science alone, but is happening in the major part of social sciences (Zedler, in König & Zedler, 1982). The tentative change of perspectives or the revival of interpretative paradigms (everyday-life/life-world, action/interaction) — partly as a critical reaction against systems and functional theory — is happening in many areas of the social sciences. The scientific occupation with adult education has apparently attached itself more than before to the intra-scientific developments and their norms.

The consolidation of a science of adult education can also be gathered from the foundation of a Committee for Adult Education within the German Association of Education Science in the mid-seventies and the creation of a scientific journal a few years later. A series of conferences tried to focus their own view of science by repeatedly using key terms like "participant-orientation" and "everyday-world orientation". Looking back to the past series of conferences, it is obvious, however, that the consolidation — called "reflective turn" in one case — embraced more than a shift in the subjects of that science, namely

- next to a topical orientation towards the person's everyday-world and educational processes,

- a reminder of the meaning of education,
- a renewed interest in hermeneutics as a research method,
- and a self-reflection on the potential of science.

One could perhaps say that it is all about a rediscovery and reformulation of important goals, premises, and methods of humanistic pedagogy — a thesis probably not shared by all concerned. And there is hope this time that education science, in discourse with other social sciences, can overcome the segregation of humanistic pedagogy — including its idealistic and exaggerated self-esteem — from other sciences. This is true of everyday-world concepts which in humanistic pedagogy have rather been romanticized than clarified, and even more of hermeneutical method which in the form given it by a further developed interpretative sociology might be reintroduced into education science (Kade, 1983). But "education" [B] alone, as its own special term, has been reinstalled by a pedagogy which came to realize that needs of personal growth and its values cannot be characterized by social science words like socialization and learning, or by empirical-analytical methods (Heydorn, 1979).

Regarding research in the last decade it seems as if it cannot keep up the scale and scope of the previous phase, despite more young scientists (Siebert, 1979; Schlutz & Siebert, 1986). We could have expected a consolidated phase of science to yield more fundamental research after a phase of searching. The one and only recent large scale fundamental inquiry into teaching/learning behaviour was designed as participant observation action research studying communication processes and teaching strategies and using hermeneutical methods in 50 educational holiday seminars (Kejcz et al., 1979-81). One alarming finding was that all four teaching strategies observed in political education did not permit any classroom reaction running counter to their declared goals, a fact which of course thwarted their enlightening intentions. The hermeneutical interpretations in this project were rather intuitive, but the use of minute taking and interpretive procedures shows the respect of the research group (sociologists, educationalists) for their subject and participants.

The reason for the lack of similar large scale research projects is that since the dwindling of educational reforms, funding policy paid little attention to subjects like education and learning. Research split up into smaller university or institutional projects, mainly smallish participant-observer pilot studies devoted to "problem-groups" of education or the labour market (the unemployed, adolescents, women re-entering jobs, the aged, the handicapped, etc.). Their scant design and capacity hardly allows public scientific discussion, although it has triggered some discussion of methods regarding, for instance, the application of hermeneutics (Ebert et al., 1984ff), proposals for linking research and professional training (Tietgens, 1987), proposals of target group and subject related didactics for adult education (Raapke & Schulenberg, 1985).

This indication of a beginning differentiation among adult education didactics at the same time draws attention to a deficiency: such single inquiries have not yet been integrated in a general adult education didactics. There are attempts at a redefinition of the teacher-learner situation (Kaiser, 1985) or at making fruitful for didactics the tension between learner-centred pedagogues and self-controlled adult learners (Breloer, 1980). But these attempts all lack

- the empirical exploration of educational acts and of teachers' self-concepts;
- the consideration of all levels of educational acts in adult education; from educational policy and planning to the final step of concrete teacher-learners events, for which models have long been provided (Flechsig & Haller, 1976);
- a consideration of the variety of highly different fields and learning situations in adult education.

With these remarks in mind there are some decisive topical gaps in the so-called "everyday-life turn". A concentration on the personal factor, on everyday-world and education runs the risk of becoming a retreat to areas and groups in one's ken. "Hard" conditions like work, skills, institutions, profession, expert knowledge, and politics are easily disregarded or perceived as nasty opponents from whom learners should be sheltered, while they have long since installed themselves in the person. Contents in which educational processes are meant to blossom are often regarded as secondary, and vocational qualifications as of little educational value. At least there is a danger that an education science with an everyday and subjective turn lapses into mistakes of humanistic pedagogy, namely the separation of vocational from "true" education, without benefiting from an advantage of this educational strand: its close theory and practice relation.

The "everyday turn" of education science does not in itself guarantee any closeness to practice, contrary to its theoretical-topical assumptions. It looks as if science can deal directly with self-constitution and everyday-world education and shut out educational acts and their institutional conditions. Of course there are contacts between science and practice on the occasion of participant-observer research and numerous seminars for adult educators, but the theory-practice relationship has never again been scrutinized for the requirements of a truly practical education science. This latest phase of development has for the time being to be seen as education science attempting to find its own identity in an internal scientific dialogue and to consolidate it (Schlutz & Siebert, 1984). This is a necessary task for a new scientific area, but the next step towards scientific identity is lacking: a redefinition of its relationship with practice.

Summing Up

In view of the short period of some twenty years since public interest and education science capacities were sufficient for education science to contribute independently towards adult education, various and essential outcomes of theory building, research, and didactics are on hand. Lacking, and a task to fulfil, is the following:

- An assessment and conservation of education science traditions and their contributions to adult education.

- A continuing empirical research practice pursuing educational and didactical questions, taking up other educational research outcomes.
- Empirical contributions to didactics connected with general theory building in adult education.
- Taking seriously the theory-practice tension as an historically and systematically fundamental condition for education science.
- Widening the horizon beyond the ken of adult education to include education as a whole (be that in life's course, or in the educational system), and as a consequence the evolution of our science of educative teaching [EW] from a rather childhood and school centred discipline to a true science of education.

Summary: *The overriding question is that of an education science's status with regard to adult education. There is no easy answer because there are differing views of an "Erziehungswissenschaft" (education science). There is also a considerable overlap between educational and other social sciences. We begin with a basic outline of the main strands and traditions: humanistic pedagogy, empirical-analytical, and critical Erziehungswissenschaft.*

A concise description of parallel and connected developments over the last decades follows: The opening up of Erziehungswissenschaft to certification, vocational and professional learning. The "realistic turn" from pedagogy to an Erziehungswissenschaft predominantly empirically-analytically orientated. The establishment of a science of adult education usually on the shoulders of Erziehungswissenschaft.

The final part deals with the "reflective turn" in both education and adult education "sciences": The guiding thread of interaction patterns and situational interpretations determined by the everyday-world; the revival of hermeneutics and the concept of cultural education [B]; a regained confidence in the effectiveness of science. The conclusion states essential, unresolved tasks ahead for theory building, research, and didactics.

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Psychology and Adult Education

Wilhelm Mader

1. Introduction

Since the late sixties/early seventies, when adult education became the subject matter of university education with explicit curricula and for the first time in Germany a systematic study towards adult education as a profession was possible, psychology as a scientific discipline has become a staunch foundation and reference point for adult education. A science of adult education without foundation in psychology seemed as unthinkable as practical application of adult education without competency.

The dominant question was how to design the proportional relationship of a well-established discipline like psychology on the one hand and a newly developing science of adult education on the other, bearing in mind the age-old history and practice of education.

The history of this proportional balance in the literature of the past twenty years is informative and revealing, not only with regard to the current situation of adult education in (West) Germany, but also for psychology as a whole.

In the next section, I should like to describe and summarize this balancing act between psychology and adult education under three headlines. This outline of a history barely twenty years old will than be used in the third section of a tentative, more precise and *systematic* delimination of the relative weight of psychology and adult education within the boundaries of an adequate concept of education.

From this historical and systematic analysis of the relation between psychology and adult education some basic indicators of the present state of adult education and the future development of a "science of adult education" can be gathered (fourth section), as expressed and postulated by Knoll (1973:51) and Dahm et al. (1980:366ff).

2. The Historical Relationship of Psychology and Adult Education

In the beginning a science of adult education had to find its place in the womb of pedagogy or education. Its proximity to psychology was therefore a natural historical heritage: "*Herbart's classic foundation of pedagogy as a science refers to practical philosophy and to psychology. Philosophy — ethics in particular — legitimizes the aims of education, and psychology demonstrates ways and means... It is true that psychology has neglected the development of adults for a long time, but its influence on a science of adult education seems at present to be greater than on school pedagogy*" (Siebert, 1979:45).

This historical background became a much used slogan to delineate the relationship of psychology and adult education: Psychology as a basic reference point (cf. Siebert, 1979:58). In scientific as well as everyday practice this meant that psychology was regularly used as a "*bizarre and dimly visible quarry where everyone could find something useful*" (Mader, 1981a:46; Siebert, 1979:57). In connection with this practice of exploiting an area of psychology where a particular user is expert, and logically consistent with this view, adult education was seen as a region where psychology was to be *applied*, and this in turn helped psychology to gain the status of an applied science in adult education.

2.1 Import-export Type

This interpretation leads to an *import-export* type of relationship between psychology and adult education prevalent until this very day. Its main characteristic is its lack of systematic distinction between a psychology of adulthood and a psychology of adult education. For the exploitation of the quarry called psychology everything seemed collectable for a "*basic research in andragogy*"(Olechowski, 1969:VII) from psychological knowledge concerning adults. Psychology seemed to promise more than any other area of reference a "*portrayal of essential landmarks of adulthood and inquiries into the educability of adults*", as was said in a 1964 memorandum concerning the extension of adult education (Siebert, 1979:27). Learning and memory performance were examined considering changes in age. The influence of motivations, interests, ways of life on educational and learning behaviour became the subject matter contributions in psychology (Olechowski, 1969; Lehr, 1972). Again and again psychologists tried to convert this accumulated knowledge in psychology into direct methodic-didactical advice for adult education (cf. Niggemann, 1975).

The quarry of psychology was scoured from the natural perspective that the psychology of adulthood ought to yield a foundation for adult education, similar to the fact that the psychology of childhood and youth had traditionally been a pillar of teacher training and school practice. This habit of thinking and relating, therefore, runs along a long established educational path. As a self-evident corollary we find that the area of psychology relevant for adult education has to be first a perpetuation of *developmental* psychology, and second a branch of *pedagogical* psychology. Knoll epitomized this view in 1973: *"The connection with psychology, for instance, can be easily arranged by a pedagogical psychology integrated into a science of education"* (Knoll, 1973:37).

This basic conception runs through the string of books right through and up to a most recent and carefully designed handbook *Psychologie für Erwachsenenbildung —Weiterbildung* (Psychology for Adult and Continuing Education), (1986) edited by Sarges and Fricke, published by the renowned Hogrefe-Verlag. The editors' guiding principles is, according to Sarges, *"that we deal here exclusively with the academically dominant scientific psychology which follows the paradigm of empirical-analytical research, and within which pedagogical psychology is a branch expected to give answers most readily to appropriate inquiries into adult education"* (Sarges & Fricke, 1986:20; for a critical review see Doerry, 1987:11).

How much this figure of thought — psychology for adult education as a perpetuation of primarily developmental and pedagogical psychology in the light of a psychology of the adult — is part of an unbroken tradition, is well evidenced by the translation of Léon's French book *Psychopédagogie des Adultes* (1971), where this mode of thought is apparent in content and quite naturally leads to a German version *Psychologie der Erwachsenenbildung* (Psychology of Adult Education) (1977).

The institutional and legal conditions under which adults learn, the social life, the individual life-courses, their biographies, have not yet become the subject matter of a psychology of adult education. There is a demand on behalf of adult education, but it imports and uses that which psychology is able or prepared to export willingly.

Several titles belong to this tradition of thinking just described. They all refer to psychology and usually conclude with a chapter on "consequences for adult education": Olechowski's *Das alternde Gedächtnis* (The Aging Memory) (1969), Lehr's *Psychologie des Alterns* (The Psychology of Aging) (1972), Sarges and Fricke's handbook *Psychologie für die Erwachsenenbildung — Weiterbildung* (Psychology for Adult and Continuing Education) (1986).

Skowronek's publications are part of the same traditional strand, but he heads his contributions consistently as *"research in learning psychology concerning adult age"* and dispenses intentionally with a precise indication of how this psychological knowledge could be incorporated in adult education (Skowronek, 1979 and 1984).

This is also true of Löwe's *Einführung in die Lernpsychologie des Erwachsenenalters* (Introduction to the Learning Psychology of Adult Age) (1971) published in the former German Democratic Republic and much used also in the Federal Republic of Germany in the early days and beginnings of university training for careers in adult education. Still, it tries with many a summary and corollary to relate the results of psychological research to everyday actions in the practice of adult education. But Löwe, too, separates expressly psychological and didactical aspects, so that didactic problems of adult education have to be added *post festum psychologicum*.

We have to maintain, therefore, in the history of the relationship of psychology and adult education that this type of exporting psychology and importing adult education are not part and parcel of bygone days, but reflect an unbroken tradition still pervasive today. Its merit is that it has assembled, systematized, and offered a stock of knowledge about specific adult behaviours and learning abilities under the pressure of demand in adult education. It comes as no surprise that authors of this *type* see themselves primarily as psychologists within an established academic, scientific discipline. Adult education is to them a field of application, but no guiding paradigm for their research.

2.2 Dialogue Type

Another trend in thought is different. It is favoured by authors who regard the science and practice of adult education as their home-ground and try to define rather the *relations* between psychology and adult education. This group belongs to what I call the *typos of dialogue*. In a recent publication of the standing committee for pedagogy of the Pedagogical Research Centre of the German Association of Adult Education Centres, edited by Dieterich under the title *Psychologische Perspektiven der Erwachsenenbildung* (Psychological Perspectives of Adult Education) (1987), this type has become programmatic. The task of this commissioned book is significant of this second mode of thought and also supplies a diagnosis of the relationship of psychology and adult education from this different perspective: "*The relationship of adult education and its reference disciplines has been little pondered. Reciprocal misunderstandings are prevalent. There is short-circuit reception as well as fear of contact. In the case of sociology the relevant problems become visible, but they remain rather covert in phenomena subject to psychological investigation. We better catch up. There is lack of productive communication. Accordingly, it would be advisable to give examples of what psychology refers to in the case of media influence, the debate on aptitude tests, the problem of 'understanding', identifying learning problems, the repertory of instruction methods, interventions in the teaching-learning situation, or counselling. Please also elaborate how adult education sees psychology in the case of planning and design, interaction, target group work, conceptions of adult education, or the consequences of technological development* (Dieterich, 1987:15f).

This dialogue describes topics and tasks form the needs of adult education — though additively and with little system — regardless of psychology being able or unable to answer at all. Knopf's contribution may serve as an example for the attempt to further mutual queries and "productive communication" in the relation of educational work with the aged and their psychology, both being sectors of adult education. The title reads "Über den Lernbedarf der Altenbildung, der Alterspsychologie Fragen zu stellen" (On the Learning Requirement of Old-age Education to Query Old-age Psychology) (1987). Knopf's thesis is that old-age education has yet to learn *what* questions to put to old-age psychology. He goes on "*It is not old-age psychology that can unilaterally determine what learning in old age and for old age can be and mean. The weakness of old-age education in relation to the psychology of old age can be seen from the fact that its* *'phenomenological', experiential insights, gained from practical educational work, are not maintained in the face of a psycho-gerontology"* (Knopf, 1987:171).

In their *Wörterbuch der Weiterbildung* (Dictionary of Continuing Education) Dahm and his co-authors advocate resolutely a conception that continuing education as a science has a future only if it promotes a "mediating approach" towards other disciplines (1980:367). Seeing that this mediating approach is not in the interest of separate university branches, it can only thrive if linked with a *subject matter* of a science of adult education. " *Subject matters of a science of adult education are the past, present and future socialization processes of adults including their societal preconditions and economic conditions, as well as the aims, functions, and legitimacy of adult education, public educational policy and administration — and all this in principle without being restricted to the Federal Republic of Germany or German-speaking countries"* (Dahm et al., 1980:371).

It is patently obvious that the fulfilment of such a range of subject matters can no more be assured by adopting portions of a psychology that pursues its own isolated path. A dialogue between psychology and adult education is a requisite for an interactional subject matter called *adult education*.

2.3 "Psychology in Adult Education" Type

A third type has no explicit or theoretical interest in the quality of any relationship of psychology and adult education. It works instead within and around restricted areas of adult education and develops from there relevant psychological knowledge, psychological theorems, without feeding them back into psychology as an "established science". These authors, in fact, do not see themselves as psychologists in the formal sense. They are not after any reputation in this field, hence are ignored by mainstream psychology. Possibly they are those who come closest to an idea of an *integrated* reference field called *"psychology in adult education"*, an idea for many years in the mind of some educationalists.

An example of such a development of psychological knowledge and theorems is Schuchardt's model of *adult education as crisis intervention and management* grown out of intensive practical experience with the education of the handicapped and an analysis of numerous biographies written by and about them (Schuchardt, 1980). The approach in itself, namely the use and understanding of adult education as an existential coping process (and not only for the acquisition of knowledge and behaviour), and to analyse such psychic processes, exceeds by far the horizon of the first and second types.

No wonder that the narrow-mindedness of previous approaches with its assumption that psychology may export something to the field of adult education without importing hardly anything from it, is symptomatically reflected in the comprehensive handbook on the psychology of adult education (Sarges & Fricke, 1986), where under the keyword "handicaps" Schuchardt's contributions are not mentioned at all. This is a consequence of the logic of such an approach.

This *integrative type* comprises many studies from the internal practice of adult education, generated by the complex problem of adult education itself. They are contributions to the psychological make-up of adults who embark on adult education. They describe phenomenological procedures resulting from human experiences, and the educational situation where this research encounter between teachers and participants happens and where all are participant observers. One such enquiry, *Die Familie in der Arbeitslosigkeit*, (The Family in Unemployment) (1987), sponsored by the *Angestelltenkammer Bremen* (the local public Chamber of Employees), deals with the families of the unemployed where, based on interviews during educational courses, a theory slowly takes shape according to which the husband's looking for a job leads to a specific coping strategy of all family members who suffer from physical, psychological, and social consequences of unemployment. And this rather dysfunctional and dangerous coping strategy — not the job itself, but the quest for it is used for inside appeasement and outside busyness — is repeated in the educational event, and can be dealt with right then and there.

Studies like these are original contributions towards a psychology integrated into adult education itself. As this kind of study is either "uninteresting" or obliged to attach itself to established branches of psychology or adult education, boundaries and methodologies become blurred if seen from the vantage point of psychology. And yet, possibly for this very reason, they are often quite fruitful in substance.

Unfortunately as yet no studies derived from everyday educational practice have systematically been worked through for such "implicit psychologies". This shortcoming is connected with another and fundamental fact in the relationship of psychology and adult education: adult education, whether in practice, in theory, or in research, is no *original* source for research and theory building, not even for those psychologists who are interested in this area of application and who "*step into this area of application new to psychology*" (Sarges & Fricke, 1986:IX). Nor have the representatives of a science of adult education — who should be more concerned than academical psychologists — offered a systematic treatment of such studies in their own scientific self-interest, apart from theoretical, conceptual work available within a dialogue type. Possibly this is because of a tradition in pedagogy and education that adult education sees itself as practice and action orientated and therefore rather imports basic knowledge and theories instead of creating them.

This seems to be not only a German development. In his *Foundations of Lifelong Education* (1976) Dave founds the whole area of *continuing education* by tapping seven different areas of continuing education: Anthropology, ecology, economics, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology. His core statement is that "*the discipline experts were requested to provide perspectives and guidelines from the standpoint of their respective disciplines by drawing upon relevant knowledge at their command from their particular field*" (Dave, 1976:31).

In a nutshell: These three "*types*" — with their key words *export-import, dialogue, integration* — exist and thrive rather independently and unconnected throughout the short history of a twenty-year period. Each follows its own logic.

3. On the Systematics of a Relationship between Adult Education and Psychology

The foregoing attempt to describe the development during the past twenty years suffers from the narrow view that is reflected in the very literature trying to lay the scientific foundations of adult education. I will now approach the potential relationship of psychology and adult education, irrespective of any previous development within the traditional structure of the branches and organization of science. This will also be an exposition of my own view.

The fascination with and difficulty to improve the relationship of psychology and adult education consists in the wide variations and apparently irreconcilable reference points. Strictly speaking only *one* of these relationships has been described in the second section: Scientists whose research centres around adult education and a future discipline called *adult education* have to look into neighbouring fields, the organization of "science" and "sciences" being what they are. There is thus the unavoidable query of links between one discipline (its history, its theories, is practices) and another (and its history, its theories, its practices). This is the view narrowed down to scientific disciplines.

Problems of a different kind come to one's mind if, for instance, the phenomenon is included that adult participants in so-called humdrum courses have hidden agenda of a confusing variety and seek answers from psychology (knowledge or counsel), or even therapy (or therapeutic substitutes). As a matter of fact, psychology courses have their place in adult education, but not as a scientific discipline, not according to a scientific psychology syllabus.

What about this pervasive presence of psychology within and via adult education with its implicit demand for psychological orientation by course members (cf. Kallmeyer, 1973, who takes stock of this phenomenon)? This is no longer a disciplinary or even cross-disciplinary question. It is a "searching" question, a "quest" for self-knowledge by human beings, and in the last resort a question of society at large, the "good" society.

Again there is a third, quite different focal area between psychology and adult education, if we regard the teaching, counselling, and planning staff engaged in adult education, who for teaching or counselling purposes need a professional competence founded in their own psychological competence (a shared view). This psychological competence is not identical to knowledge of psychology according to an established scientific syllabus. What about the context of psychological competence, psychology as a science with research interest, and a foreign-language teacher who runs courses with employees? How does a staff member in adult education, who is neither a psychologist nor wishes to be one and teach it, acquire a background competence in psychology?

So, adults in educational courses look for psychological orientations in specific biographical situations, and staff members have somehow some psychological competence evident in their jobs.

But given these three heterogeneous levels of reference (for which see Mader, 1980:78), and these three only, the question is unavoidable: What has this to do with the difficulties of drawing boundaries and defining relations among scientific areas? The core question is: Do we share a focus, a "point of view", from where these three levels appear to be just differentiations of one centre, albeit one that is constitutive for adult education?

The "mediating approach" advanced by Dahm et al. (1980) argues for the *socialization* of adults to become the knowledge-directed *subject matter* of a science of adult education and the gravitational centre to which paradigmatic, method-related, or cross-disciplinary questions of the discipline would be subordinated.

Wishing to pursue this course of thinking, I would make rather *that* part of the adult's socialization the centring subject which happens in and is the aim of adult education itself and is called "*Bildung*" (education) — with all the historical load and vagueness of the term. It is valid on each of the three focal areas.

The "point of view", from which a fruitful developmental, and less eclectic relationship of adult education with psychology seems possible, could be the subject matter *education of adults*. But this recourse to the concept of *Bildung* would rather hinder the redesigning of a relationship, since *Bildung* has been and still is a highly charged core term of adult education (cf. Siebert, 1983, concerning the renaissance of *Bildung*). In fact, in the sixties psychology itself was responsible for the quasi-elimination of the term from school and educational institutions in favour of "learning". There is a psychology of learning, but none of *Bildung*. And what, if any, should this be? Would not *Bildung*, stripped of its ideological guise, be reduced to learning, once the accent is laid upon an empirical-psychological clarification of this process of adult education? Was it not an enlightening development worth maintaining to do away with *Bildung* as a term and replace it with a concept of learning appropriate for adult education? And yet, adult education puts the *Bildung* of adults right in its centre — the adult who is being educated *and* who educates himself at the same time.

Siebert asks: Is *Bildung* necessary? In the eighties he has tackled the differences and contexts of *Bildung* and learning, correcting some of his earlier views. His final conclusion is that "*Bildung is unthinkable without learning and proper qualifications... But Bildung requires a certain quality of learning, namely reflective learning, assuring itself of potentialities and limits of learning. This means that content of learning is paramount, whereas it is negligible for a psychology of learning... Learning content becomes Bildung content only if linked with the story of one's own life, one's own identity; they ground and enrich the personality... Bildung can thus be described as a unity of competence, reflection, and will*" (Siebert, 1983:87).

Understanding *Bildung* (different from learning) as a *unity of competent knowledge, critical judgement, and ethical action*, offers the possibility and necessity to use and develop psychology in adult education from a novel standpoint. If *Bildung* is thus understood as an anthropological category, a category of the self (cf. also Kürzdörfer in Dewe et al., 1988:117; Schulenberg, 1980:22), the concept of learning and a psychology of learning do not become superfluous in adult education, but their meaning will be provided by a theory of adulthood on the one hand, and its corner by a theory of the educational situation on the other hand.

The formula *adult* in such a paradigmatic theory is not meant to be a developmental, psychological, and biographical phase somewhere between childhood, adolescence, and old age. It is the prevailing (and, of course, critiquable) opinion in a society of what a human being should be or become, what — in the human condition — a full life and its consummation would mean, and what his emancipatory potential is. Adult education needs such a category of humanity.

With such critical potential of implicit ideas of man, adult education is obliged to refer not only to social theories or history, but also to psychology, and to the *psychology of personality* in particular. Adult education cannot do without a theory of personality and identity, that is without categories of self. This statement leads to a first basic and systematic delimitation of our aim in the dialogue between psychology and adult education.

There should still be an open and necessary debate on which strand of personality theory is more suitable for foundations of adult education based on psychology: a psycho-analytic-psychodynamic orientation (example: Erik Erikson), an empirical-analytical orientation (examples: Raymond Cattell, Hans Eysenck), an historical-dialectical orientation (examples: Lucien Sève, Klaus Holzkamp), and an existential-humanistic orientation (example: Abraham Maslow). Anyhow, each strand has its own retinue of educationalists.

A second requisite focus follows from the process of *Bildung* as being always *situational* and *interactive*. It cannot unfold without sharing (whereas learning might be achieved by a single individual). This calls for a theory of the situation or the field in which adults learn. Fundamentally and systematically adult education has to ask for a dialogue with psychological field theories, interaction theories, or group theories, in order to elucidate those specific communicative and psychodynamic processes which could help or hinder education and learning under societal and institutional conditions. It is noticeable how often and continually during these past twenty years widely different publications have used the concept of *situation* to find a systematic approach towards adult education. This orientation, rather constitutive for adult education, could become crucial for a dialogue between psychology and adult education.

We would find, accordingly, the following focus for a systematic relationship between psychology and adult education: First, a personality theory including fully explored paradigmatic categories of *adulthood* and *identity*. Second, a theory of *situation* including fully explored paradigmatic categories of *interaction* and *communication*.

4. Perspectives for Psychology and Adult Education

Whether psychology as an academic discipline is interested in such aims will depend on psychologists' attitudes: whether adult education is not treated as an as yet little used field of application where to export erratic knowledge, or whether psychologists know that the future development of their discipline depends on dialogue and the aims of such socially more and more essential fields as adult education. In such a dialogue psychology would be required to deal elementarily with the whole range of contents relevant for professional, political, or general adult education and would itself undergo some changes. If Herrmann's critical stocktaking *Psychologie als Problem* (Psychology as a Problem) (1979) is taken as a yardstick for a scientific psychology and as a valid practical orientation, then there are avenues. His view of scientific psychology as a "*network of research programmes*", as a "*global conceptual orientation without marginal sharpness*" is a call for cooperation with other areas not grounded in psychology, like adult education: "*We call scientific psychology... an historically relatively closely meshed network with intensive exchange relations and with individual problem-solving processes, a network not insulated against the 'outside'. There are interactions with research programmes other than those called psychological... In addition, some traditional research programmes in psychology (e.g. in the area of perception) are no longer handled by professional psychologists with their own tools, and on the other hand certain problem areas (e.g. parts of linguistic psychology) require cooperation of psychologists and non-psychologists right from the start*" (Herrmann, 1979:175).

It is certainly true for any future adult education that psychological reduction to content-free learning techniques, learning mechanisms or interaction-profiles are an outmoded form of psychology hardly suitable for adult education, and that the network called psychology and the network called adult education require cooperation in mutual interest. There is a growing awareness of just such a cooperation which finds its expression in the elaboration of independent research reports written explicitly from the angle of adult education. Nittel has presented one such report on aging as a foundation for adult education with the elderly, calling for a re-thought "science of adult education" and a programme also valid for the relationship between psychology and adult education: "*Indeed, if a science of adult education tries to strengthen its ties with its adjacent discipline and additional branches, it cannot do so without its own research*" (Nittel, 1989:70).

Summary: Psychological knowledge, as one of the foundations of competence required for educational efforts with adults, is undisputed from the very beginnings of adult education, but a sharper definition of its relation to "scientific" psychology became necessary only when university courses for adult education were introduced.

Three types of this relationship in recent years are described: The export-import type, the dialogue type, and an integrative type.

The systematics of the relationship between psychology and adult education are developed from an adult education perspective based on a concept of cultural education [B] with adults.

This systematic conceptualization centres on two pairs of categories: Identity and personality, and interaction and situation. Both focal points together constitute the field of adult education which is to be analysed and researched by psychology.

A Note on the Author

Wilhelm Mader, Professor Dr. phil., born in 1939, studied philosophy and psychology (majoring in both), was educational staff member of a residential adult education centre from 1968 to 1972, and taught at a college for social work from 1972 to 1973, when he became professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen. He underwent additional training in psychoanalysis and, after seven years, in 1980, became a psychoanalyst in private practice.

Born into a world of undogmatic Catholicism, I was — as an adolescent and later — intrigued by the secular trends and history of continental humanism and found its roots first in the pre-Socratic enlightenment and Socratic teaching, and then in the second enlightenment (Kant's critique of reason and morals); but my inclination has always been the study and discovery of individual people and their (hi)stories, a passion for single cases. It is not surprising, therefore, that I am an avid reader of novels and short stories which provide ideas and insights all the time. Thomas Mann is an example whose "Joseph" novels I discovered rather late, in my forties, as an outstanding story of that powerful imprint of generations and cultures mirroring the psyche of a unique man's restless intellect and passions.

Freudian enlightenment, secular self-examination, unconscious processes and their history in human beings and society thus became the centre of my interests and a resource for my commitment to adult education and university teaching. Some of my more important publications — from a total of about eighty — are reflections of this attitude: *Erwachsenenbildung. Theoretische und empirische Studien zu einer handlungstheoretischen Didaktik* (co-authored by my colleague Ansgar Weymann; published by Klinkhardt, Bad Heilbrunn, in 1975). A commissioned, illustrated monograph on *Max Scheler* (the earlier subject of my 1968 doctoral thesis), published by Rowohlt, Reinbek, in 1980 (rm 290). Most recently "Aging and the Metaphor of Narcissism", in G. Kenyon, J.E. Birren, and J.J.F. Schroots (eds.): *Metaphors of Aging in Sciences and Humanities*, published by Springer, New York, in 1991.

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Part IV
Paradigmatic Theories

Education Science and Adult Education: Theses for a Critical Relationship

Herbert Gerl

> *When the adult was shown the child through the isolation pane he did not see a newborn but a perfect human being.*
> *Peter Handke, A Child's Story*

At a first glance the connection between education science [EW] and adult education is evident, their juxtaposition undisputed and unproblematic. Adult education as a field of practice could be regarded as part of a subject area that educational science tries to clarify historically and systematically.

Such a view has apparently prevailed when adult education was scientifically institutionalized in the Federal Republic of Germany. The amalgamation of the scientific staff in the area of continuing education and adult education, for instance, has thus been executed (nearly) without any controversy in one Adult Education Committee under the umbrella of the German Association for Educational Science. All examination and study regulations covering adult education at colleges/universities are based on education science as a fundamental core science. In addition, the juxtaposition of certain university departments expresses the same close relationship of education science and adult education.

There is also a broad consensus in the adult education literature that the science of adult education is part of educational science ("adult pedagogy") (cf. Siebert 1981:11; Pöggeler 1974; Tietgens 1981; Jütting et al., 1984, excepting Axmacher, 1974 who cannot be dealt with here). Even where skepticism prevails regarding the "sole representation" of adult pedagogy as the science of adult education (e.g. Dahm et al., 1980), it is undisputed that education science is suitable for treating central problems of adult education as a field of practice.

Bearing this broad consensus in mind it is surprising that the definitive fundamental of all education science, the concept of "educative teaching" [E] and the appertaining activity ("bringing up"), are scarcely compatible with the process and matter of adult education. In the rare cases of scholarly literature where the question is raised, the very idea of adult "educative teaching" is flatly rejected (e.g. Siebert, 1987). There seems to be an unquestionable consensus that any kind of "educative" attitude is misplaced in the case of adult education, and would rather destroy the "contract" on which such activity is based.

The constellation is peculiar: education science as a "parent science" (Doerry, 1984:157) builds on a conception flatly rejected by a sub-department, and I would now discuss the question how adult and/or continuing education understand each other in their relations to education science and how they can develop as a science and field of practice, with due regard to such an "understanding". For the rejection of educative teaching contains, strictly speaking, basic foundation of meaning, purpose, forms, and procedures for adult and/or continuing education.

This relationship will now be discussed, after an introductory review of the term "*Erziehung*" (educative teaching) and its current debate in educational science.

THESIS I

The relationship of education science and adult education is not just incidentally coming to a head: "educative teaching" as a paradigm — and logically its theoretical establishment in an education science — has itself run into an indubitable and profound crisis.

To what end can or shall adults "raise" (*erziehen*) children and what about legitimation? Is there any vested right ("entitlement") to "raise and teach"? These introductory questions in educational-philosophical primers have in the recent past been asked rather rhetorically and at least answered in the affirmative without further ado. Today — in the course of an "historical turn" in education science (von Hentig, 1978:7) — these questions are of serious concern and have been responded to in unusual ways previously thought impossible. The new, critical view of educational action by "adults" (and their scientific system) on "children" was provoked by thorough, often psychoanalytic inquiries into the true source and the real outcome of parental and other educational actions. In Germany more than anywhere else — and it had been forgotten there — the question had to be politically sharpened and referred to a concrete example: Was the child Adolf Hitler raised, brought up, taught by his parents? The unequivocal and undeniable answer is: yes, indeed. Thus Miller in *Am Anfang war Erziehung* (In the Beginning There Was Upbringing) (1980). It is true: he was brought up in a certain, then typical, well reconstructible way (cf. Miller, 1980:169ff), a way that would now suffer educationally immanent criticism from "progressive" educationalists. But the thesis is that each educative action shows a characteristic structure, more precisely: an intrinsic inner contradiction identical in its origin and quality even with changing educational styles: the adult's grip on the person "child" becoming firmer and firmer the more the child rebels, and becoming more hurtful and sickening the more it succeeds. Or, in the words of Freud (1933) which also reveal his own ambivalence of all pedagogics without showing the way out of this dilemma: "*...even the mildest upbringing cannot but exert force and introduce constraints, and each such intervention in his freedom must make the child react and incline towards opposition and aggression*" (1933, Vol.I:555 *New Introductory lectures on psycho-analysis. Lecture XXXIII: Femininity).*

The core of each educative action is therefore: the exertion of force, the more or less hurtful interference in the child's person without his having the chance to resist or to see through it and adequately cope with it psychically. The way out for the child is repression, leading to the later consequence of having it unconsciously to "enact" the repressed material in forms adapted to his living conditions and action possibilities. Such enactments can later become repetitive educative rituals carried out with their own children by grown-ups. In the case of Hitler (including his equally brought up and instructed helpmates and henchmen) they were political enactments of unusual scope and lethal exits for millions. "*Among all the leading figures of the Third Reich there was not one without a strict and tough upbringing*" (Miller, 1980:84). For similar connections see the inquiry into childhood and youth of American volunteers (Green Berets) in Vietnam (Mantell: German edition 1972, American original 1974).

What have these considerations to do with adult education and its relation to an education science? What does it mean for adult education that the concept of "education" is passing through a crisis? — I think a discussion of such a term historically and systematically charged will result in and lead to the foundation of a better and clearer understanding of adult education as the paragon of an autonomous (that is free from pedagogics), tendentially life long learning undivided by age groups and limits. This view holds that adults as well as children continue to learn that as human beings they have abilities and skills which — in favourable circumstances — they can develop and unfold (and not have reshaped or suppressed pedagogically). This should be the guideline for the organization of any kind of learning. Adult education, as a counter-term against an unenlightened conception of education, could then become synonymous with an open, non-directive conduct of people (not "adults only") on an equal footing, enjoying mutual learning. From this perspective, and from its very beginning, the youthful science of adult education, hardly established at all, with its unbroken and self-evident rejection of the idea of educative teaching, has staked out a path that the established education science tries to follow somewhat laboriously, constantly beating the retreat (cf. Mollenhauer, 1983:174; Flitner, 1982; Winkler, 1982). Some aspects of this thought will be presented in the following three theses.

THESIS II

The "pedagogical relationship" as the core subject of an education science—the educational conduct among children and parents, children and teachers, children and adults—can at present be seen as an expression and characteristic of a certain cultural epoch coming to an end.

Adult education as "continuation or resumption of organized learning after the completion of a first phase of education of variable length" (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1970:197) is in the light of this development itself an expression of the end of this "pedagogical" epoch, sort of. For adult education signifies the end (at least the end of self-evidence) of a flat contrast between adults and children. Adults, too, are not "complete", are obliged to go on learning, to develop and fulfil their own potentialities.

With this thesis, its first part being perhaps rather provocative, I resume my introductory remarks.[1]

In spite of all differences, mainly in evaluating the developments mentioned and the conclusions drawn, authors as varying as deMause (1977; original 1974) and Ariès (1978; original 1973) reach the same conclusion: the specific pedagogical attempt at making well-formed, controlled, moral adults out of children defined as "crude", "wild", "unfinished", "immoral", even "dangerous" by means of more and more sophisticated educational techniques during a phase of "childhood", can be dated. It begins—according to deMause—in the sixteenth century: "*From Domenici to Locke there was no image more popular than that of the physical molding of children, who were seen as soft wax, plaster, or clay beaten into shape*" (American edition, 1974:51-52), and had its heyday in the eighteenth and nineteenth century "*rather than just examine its insides with an enema, the parents approached even closer and attempted to conquer its mind, in order to control its insides, its anger, its needs, its masturbation, its very will*" (American edition, 1974:52); eventually leading in the twentieth century to the efforts of "socializing" the child. Now the "adaptation" of the child to societal requirements by means of behaviourist conditioning is prominent.

What is of special interest in this context: The whole large-scale educational enterprise is rooted in the conviction that there is a fundamental difference between the "incomplete" child and the "complete" adult to be bridged somehow by just such an educative instruction (nobody knowing exactly how). Only such an opposition of adults and children could entitle adults to exert educative influence on children.

Adult education thus presupposes and posits a new self-image of adulthood: Adults, too, possess provisional, questionable, expandable competences. Adults, too, with all their knowledge, opinions, needs, and interests, have to face a discourse, must justify their actions, try to understand others, cannot compel consent. There are no longer any privileges of age or role, say the teacher's role as against the learner's role. This new understanding must be reflected in the manner of groups (regardless of age) organizing their learning processes (further details later).

The parallel development is consistent: Simultaneously with the (sociological perspective of) *The Disappearance of Childhood* (Postman, American edition, 1982) the old term of "adulthood" looses its contours, and turns out to be a fiction, more precisely an unfruitful idea slowing down learning and development.

In fact, we may sum up today: Educative teaching, carried out by "adults" on "children", turns these very children when they grow older into typical "adults": it instills — this being its acknowledged meaning and purpose — effective mechanisms of behaviour, adjusts children to preset goals, keeps them in place, "finishes" them. "Continuing" education and "continuous" learning are counter-ideas that break the cycle of arrogance (on the part of adults) and stupidity (on the part of children), imply an idea of incompleteness, of growth, of developing the person further than just falling into age brackets. Logically, Postman talks of the new "child-adult" (1982:116) without, however, unfolding any further the positive and progressive ideas held in such a conception. I will revert to this matter later in THESIS V.

THESIS III

The typically modern demand to learn which adults originally loaded exclusively onto children was soon interpreted pedagogically and exploited for adult intentions to instruct: the child was regarded as a tabula rasa to be imprinted, a blank to be minted and defined like a coin once and for all. The demand to learn was found to be sound, its dynamics however has caught up with the world and adult life alike, gaining a new quality: the educational misinterpretation of learning can be recognized as such and labelled, now that adults run the risk of being affected themselves. Learning and being brought up can be seen as different processes and boundaries drawn. One as a basic requirement of the human organism facing up to his material and social environment, the other as a well or less well camouflaged interference in a person's reason for action[2]

Now, if "learning" (as distinct from educative teaching) is chosen as a fundamental concept of a science of adult education, the implications are far-reaching. It tells us something about the relationship of adults involved and their relations with their subject matters. A de-educationalized learning in this sense is most closely committed to the interests of the learners themselves; at least they will be able during their lifetime to decide upon the value they place upon learning. It will be a learning with visible goal setting and methods, all aspects being transparent, criticizable, and manageable for and by learners.

It should be emphasized that the characteristics of a de-educationalized learning are by no means merely ideological but to a large extent empirically verifiable criteria of learning situations. An education science that has become self-critical because of its long speculation on pedagogical conditions (the result of its own internal logic), today could assist adult education by making itself aware of a goal setting process guided by the highest possible self-responsibility and self-determination and by implementing such goal setting in the verifiable practice of learning groups of all ages.

THESIS IV

Adult education as an expression of the end of the pedagogical epoch, therefore of the end of the traditional role distribution among adults and children, is the carrier of a preference for open interaction among equals. Unfortunately in the course of current educational-economical qualification — and social policy pacification strategies — such a learning "suitable for adults" (which would also be an unqualified learning "suitable for children") is difficult to implement by means of adult education. This shows that in practical educational work the idea of an "educative teaching" is on the advance despite its theory crisis. Indeed it is on the march to gain a foothold on previously impenetrable ground.

Where do we find such a renaissance of pedagogy spruced up? Where does it enter adult learning? — An essential concept, an example that demonstrates the whole development, is "acceptance". With regard to vocational education Dieckmann finds: "*Since modern technologies have the annoying feature of eliminating many jobs, professional education — having to prepare for the acceptance of these technologies — gets into a serious contradiction: It is no longer allowed to any enlightening performance...*" (Dieckmann, 1984:121).

And Siebert states with adult education in mind: "*The modern term for this educational concept is 'acceptance'*" (1987:78). He quotes in this context from the speech of a (former) Minister of Culture, Education, and Church Affairs at a Continuing Education Convention of the German Board of Industry and Commerce who said "*Unless a new acceptance develops, the future of industrial culture is seriously endangered... Acceptance — Max Weber would have said "obedience" — of course rests upon the general, common acknowledgement of values, and we feel day in and day out that in this respect many things have become problematic; and that teachers often find it hard to exert their natural authority of office invested in them in former times by this general acceptance of values, this is something not only teachers know*" (Siebert, 1987:78).

It is no accident that as tradition laden and loaded terms like "obedience" and "natural authority of office" blend with a modern vocabulary where for the rest of it "high tech" is the buzz-word. "Acceptance" — derived from humanistic psychology and a core term well-defined and fundamental for the description of interpersonal relations — is severed from its context and turned into the contrary using its positive connotations. The question is no longer the acceptance and respect of the other — irrespective of his opinions, needs, values — but the outspoken approval and appreciation of one specific matter: industrial culture. The subject matter itself is becoming the yardstick for acceptance (which cannot be said as easily of the people involved).

So, it is obvious that there is a strong tendency to "school" adult education, more precisely: to reinstate school rule in organizing learning processes for adults. Such tendencies can be observed in the administration and organization of courses and "measures", but also in content and interaction style right within learning groups. Then follows a distribution of roles between course directors and participants no more guided by an interest in optimum information input and processing and assuring group interaction on equal terms. The course director's information lead is used for information policy, that is for converting his knowledge and competence into personal power. Behaviours are used on purpose, as a strategy, to serve this end, although admittedly, deficient didactics and methods have similar consequences, this being of no advantage to learners: they are held on leash and are dependent. This is always the case when "secrets" come between course directors and participants instead of endeavours to make the teaching/learning situation as transparent as possible. This may and will happen

- when no reasons for certain learning contents or goals are given and discussed,
- when the meaning of the course as a whole is excluded (there is no slope of competence between participants and the course director!),
- when forms and methods of work in common cannot be criticized,
- when the course director adopts a stilted diction, teeming with foreign words and a complicated grammar,
- experience of the participants.

Some other facts also contribute to such secrecy:

- The insularity of participants, the hindrance of open interaction between them because of monologic teaching.
- The total fade-out of the course director as a person from course events.

"Without secrets there can be no such thing as childhood", says Postman (German edition, 1983:95), trying to recapture and legitimate vanishing privileges of adulthood. This statement indicates in our context a "puerility effect" of pedagogical authority in learning groups.

The question remains: What results will acceptance and motivation strategies have in the area of adult education? Let us look once more to the historical development of educational practice so that we can better assess the possible consequences of pedagogical influences.

If one tries to get an overview of the means and measures used in bringing up children from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, two things are obvious. Firstly: With growing psychological insights educational methods became more subtle, inward, hidden; even to the point where the child could no more recognize and see through the educator's intentions and the psychological means applied to implement them. Miller has found for one of her books a summary title highlighting this developmental strand and the moral commandment to all subjected to education: *Du sollst nicht merken* (Thou shalt not be aware) (1981).

The educational influence developed from a crude and unrestricted corporal punishment to a "punishing glance", the withdrawal of love, and even to purely ignoring "undesirable" and reinforcing "desirable" behaviour; as documented in Rutschky's *Schwarze Pädagogik* (Black Pedagogy), (1977). Secondly: In line with the development just described there was a progressing completion and systematization, an onset of scientism in parents' and teachers' educational practices.

This double process of education, however, had an overall disastrous consequence for individuals and society at large: the more educational methods became inward-looking and "psychological", the more they subjected those concerned to an external control and other-directedness difficult to perceive and therefore hardly corrigible. This very perfection led to an outcome nobody had wanted (at least declaredly): Self-alienation, even loss of personality (in extreme cases).[3]

Exactly this is impossible: to "make" a human being a living, self-respecting person interacting freely and openly with others. The very cunning of means applied thwarts the intended purpose.

Even a more and more systematized "pedagogy for adults" could not avoid such a consequence. It would in turn push the person towards a potential self-alienation just by proceeding "psychologically" and conditioning people behind their backs.

That which is contained in the concept of "adult education" will not be fulfilled. Adult education wishes to abolish rigidities and closures, explore behaviour-conditioning mechanisms, and give full scope to the human potential. My final thesis is meant to illustrate that such a conception can also be grounded in anthropology. I refer to the inquiries and thoughts of Ashley Montagu, the American anthropologist (1984).

THESIS V

"Adults" and "children" do not belong necessarily or by "nature" to two different classes of human beings. Nor is the goal of human maturation and development necessarily or naturally to swap a deficient childhood as quickly as possible for a final, firm, and closed adulthood. On the contrary: The species (homo) could develop psychically so much further than any other animal, because his infant body features had traits and characteristics meant for development, growth, unfolding, learning and he alone was able to retain these characteristics for a comparatively long period in the course of individual human lives.

Such characteristics are thirst for knowledge, sensitivity, experimentation, curiosity, playfulness, creativity, and imagination. Apart from the fact that a range of body features — particularly the development of the human skull compared with that of apes — substantiate the generic retention of juvenile forms even at an advanced age, it is the "neoteny"[4] of the above named psycho-mental layout which allows for the human species to develop beyond animal forms, and even to carry on with an imprint of permanent development.

This detailed and substantiated statement of facts by Montagu leads on to another perspective possibly fundamental for "adult education". All past and present educational attempts to convert children comparatively quickly into a (seemingly) genuine and consummate adulthood have hindered human(e) development processes by this very idea and aim. Pedagogy was a convention which tried in part explicitly, but anyhow for the vast majority factually, to cut down to size all above mentioned characteristics of the child's psyche. Is there really no way of contributing to a personal and social further development by intentionally helping and developing just these characteristics? He who remains a "child" the longest, will develop furthest. A society which permits this to its members and makes it possible will grant itself the greatest opportunities for development.

Just as the discovery of childhood and its concomitant educational epoch (including its piecemeal scientification) expressed a certain idea of human nature, so adult education today could demonstrate a new self-image of the person. We could than see ourselves as both incomplete and yet — in our own affairs — as competent and able to make decisions, a fact we had conceded already to children.

Whether this self-view will obtain and is historically sustainable, or whether after the failure of "education" we shall relapse into pre-modern barbarism is uncertain. From an historical perspective I am convinced that adult education would be a meaningful and essential step forward. Thus understood, it is easier to make it happen.

Summary: *The paper tries to gain a more precise self-understanding of (a "science" of) adult education by tracing the current crisis of the concept of education ("educative teaching") thought to be unavoidable. Five theses are offered which, one hopes, will lead less to immediate opposition than to careful consideration: On this view "adult education" signals the demise of the usual dichotomy: "consummate" adults versus "unformed" children, both requiring "educative teaching". It concentrates on learning continuously as a contribution to the development of the person, independent of any age. Continuing education would thus express a new vision of the human being in line with recent findings of anthropology, a potential that can perhaps only now become actualized.*

A Note on the Author

Herbert Gerl, Professor Dr. phil., born in 1939. Elementary school teacher 1962-1964. In charge of church-affiliated adult education seminars 1964-1970. Staff member of the Department of Adult Education and Extra-curricular Youth Education, University of Hannover 1970-1979. Professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen, since 1979. Publications on problems of didactics and interaction.

Three people and their writings have strongly influenced my professional views. The first one was Gerd-Günther Grau (Hannover) who introduced me to philosophical thinking and its self-confident use when applying it. Next came Friedrich Nietzsche with his criticism of religion and his historical argumentation, transforming contrasting views into historical developments. Finally, I learnt from Carl R. Rogers — the psychologist, therapist, philosopher — what an interpersonal relationship is and ought to be, and the consequences to be drawn from it for any kind of learning.

Notes

[1] Those annoyed by this thesis should take their emotional reactions — often legitimated by quick intellectual reasons — to rethink their attitudes towards their own upbringing and educators. An emotional reaction here might signal a sore point to be avoided: the firm belief that one's own educational history of suffering on behalf of one's parents was necessary, is justified. And that one's own conduct in raising children is equally necessary and justified.

[2] Just one example from the literature of adult education will do to show the total disregard of this conceptual distinction: Zdarzil, *Anthropologie des Erwachsenen* (1976:13ff).

[3] D.G.M. Schreber as a person and author, one of the most widely read and influential theorists and practitioners of education (1808-1861) is an example of the double progress and its dire effects. He dedicated his life to *"setting up a through and through rightful, generally understandable education system illustrating the essential details"* (Schreber, 1858:VIIf). His son Daniel Paul could neither escape nor understand, nor deal with his father's "psychological" and tight education system, namely to recognize and reject the attack on his integrity. So he fell psychically ill. Fortunately he was able to write up in every detail his persecution mania reproducing his father's instructional (disciplinary) actions, thus permitting us to reconstruct the compulsory aftermath of such a systematized pedagogy and drastic example (cf. D.P. Schreber 1973; Schatzman, 1974). Freud has also dealt with the case history of Schreber in a way typical for his view of psychoanalytical thinking at that time — without regard to the role the father played in his son's life (Vol. XII: *Case History of Schreber: Psychoanalytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia*, (1911)).

[Daniel Paul Schreber (1842-1911), an eminent judge, later president of the Dresden Appeals Court Senate, went mad at forty-two, recovered, and eight and a half years later went mad again. Daniel Gottlieb Moritz Schreber (1808-1861), his father, who supervised his upbringing, was a leading physician and pedagogue. See Freud, Schatzman. M.H.]

[4] "Neoteny". J. C. E. Kollman's zoological term (1884, 1894) for the retention of juvenile characteristics in an adult animal (S.O.D., 3rd edition, addenda (1978)).

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Experiential Approaches in Adult Education

Günther Holzapfel

1. The Experiential Approach as a Central, Practical and Theoretical Direction in Adult Education

Over the last twenty years the experiential approach has been a central orientation for contents and methods of adult education practice and non-school youth education in the Federal Republic of Germany, mainly in areas of political and socio-cultural adult education. Here are some typical programme excerpts from leaflets:

"...taking the experiences of participants and company conflicts as a starting point, we shall try to clarify the workforce interests" (a course on Employees and Their Representatives);

"...the individual and social structures of the existing society will be analysed on the strength of our everyday experiences" (a course based on *The Sane Society* by Erich Fromm);

"...in all considerations not only theoretical expert knowledge alone shall hold sway, but participants' own experiences are to be included" (a course on Marriage in Societal Change);

"Communication of experiences among participants" is often regarded as an essential seminar portion; talk is also of "processing experience" or the "making us aware" of individual and collective history and the possibilities of doing something in political and societal reality. In courses announcing personality development we read of "self-experience" and "group experience" as important points of reference for subject and method. In recent years offers of cultural education and health-related subjects are on the increase: Experiencing Your Body — Dance and Voice Improvisations; Vital Energy — Experience your Own Energies; Body Awareness; Body Awareness Through Massage.

As widespread and meaningful an experiential approach may be as a practical principle of educational work, there is little uniformity in its interpretation and practice as can be inferred from those various contexts where the word "experience" is used in the above programme excerpts.

The high esteem and relevance of this principle, but also its varying and to some extent controversial application in the practice of educational work, has been and still is a constant challenge to theory building processes in adult education. The debate about the "experiential approach" therefore outlines one of the most important and intense periods of discussion concerning theories in adult education and non-school youth education. At the same time, in adult education, this discussion is in various respects very typical of the way how theory building is attempted: The scientific concepts and methods passing into theory building spring from sometimes very different human-science disciplines (sociology, psychology, pedagogy and education, history) and are united in one theory-gestalt. The central questions of the theoretical approach are part and parcel of educational practice and partly retroact on it with all breaks and opportunities. At the same time the whole discussion of the approach is not one among a few professionals of the theory and practice of adult education, but linked with societal conditions and interest structures of associations, political parties, social movements, and educational agencies.

Reference to practice and a theory debate embedded in the societal surroundings are attractive to every scientist who does not work for science's sake, but pose a serious problem for the independence of theory building. In the following we shall describe the basic structure and development of the theory debate concerning the experiential approach and shall mention the development of practice and societal conditions of theory building only where absolutely necessary and feasible.

It is commonly held that Negt's *Soziologische Phantasie und exemplarisches Lernen* (Sociological Imagination and Exemplary Learning) (1968) is the beginning of an intense theory debate regarding the experiential approach (that is, after 1945, for the discussion is not altogether new, similar suggestions having been made during the Weimar Republic, cf. Röhrig, 1988; Tietgens, 1986:53 & 176). Let us begin with an overview of his approach and then sketch the evolving debate. Other theories heading for the same or similar queries, but using different concepts like "interpretation pattern approach", "everyday approach", or "participant approach" etc. will also be included.

2. Negt's Conception of Workers' Education: Sociological Imagination and Exemplary Learning

2.1 Starting Out

Negt's (1968) initial considerations were a criticism of the unions' educational work done in the late fifties and early sixties: goal-directed instruction and knowledge transfer to union officials. Basic contradictions of the capitalist economy and society and their manifestations in industrial conflicts were not dealt with. His aim was a theoretical refoundation of union educational work. His thoughts dwelt on an increasing capitalist restoration in the Federal Republic, a spreading adaptation of workers' consciousness to the values of a "levelled middle-class society", the change of the social democrats from a labour party to a people's party, and a decreasing influence of the unions on the employed within their reach (cf. Brock, 1978; Hindrichs, 1982).

Negt's draft of a new workers' education theory was not based on the premise that there still is a scientifically water-tight socialist theory from which aims, contents, and methods of an anti-capitalist conception of workers' education can be developed. He was more interested in outlining the experimental processes of theory building, by confronting the hitherto normative guidelines of union education — committed to a rather postulatory pedagogics — with recent empirical social science, sociological, social-psychological and linguistic findings concerning the conditions of the addressees, and then deriving aims and methods for workers' education. If this derivation process, however, should not be a method-fetishist and concretistic restriction referring only to empirically diagnosable structures of workers' consciousness, but the whole approach of a sociological reformulation of the exemplary principle in education could become a content based method, then Negt had to stick to a category of an "objective possibility" to change fundamentally the existing capitalist society from within its contradictions. On the strength of these premises the book contains two large steps of inquiry which will be summed up in a nutshell. We shall see that the concept of experience is important in the context of other key concepts, but is made clear and distinct in later works of Negt.

2.2 Sociological Thinking and Exemplary Learning

Negt tries to find a theoretical new foundation of educational union work by a sociological reformulation of the exemplary principle (cf. Negt, 1975: Chapter I). He does not invent the method of exemplary learning. It has been developed in the humanities (Wagenschein, 1956) as a means of reducing the wealth of material available in school curricula. Essentially it holds that one single subject matter is enough to demonstrate the general basic patterns of the whole field. Negt criticizes that the whole means nothing else here than the matter of one specific scientific discipline. He thinks that the exemplary principle loses importance unless two conditions are fulfilled:

- A revision of the bourgeois conception of history restricted to the past, and
- the overcoming of the traditional division of work among the scientific disciplines.

His approach accordingly tackles the whole and the particular differently: " '*the whole' in this altered sense is the organized division-of-work totality of the manufacturing and reproduction processes of a society in a historical dimension. 'The particular' is the relevant sociological state of affairs relevant to the life of the class society and the individuals*" (Negt, 1975:27).

With this new interpretation of the relation between the particular and the whole "the education for a sociological way of thinking" among workers is possible (Negt, 1975:15).[1] Negt borrows the characteristics of "sociological thinking" and "sociological imagination" from the American sociologist C. Wright Mills who has described the sociological imagination as an ability to "*cross over from one view to another...,from the political to the psychological, from the study of a single family to the assessment of state budgets, and to recognize structural connections between individual life-history, direct interest, desires, hopes, and historical events*" (Negt, 1975:28).

Only an education for this sociological thinking will enable the individual "*to cancel the scientific division of work productively and, with it, to introduce action motivating structures into the chaotic wealth of information and subject matters*" (Negt, 1975:27).

He founds his approach of exemplary learning not only on a growing abundance of scientific information contributory to the life of individuals and classes, but also on the recent quality of informational flooding by further scientifically of the societal production processes. This requires the ability to translate analytical scientific facts into various steps of intuitional and extra-scientific forms of language and thinking. Negt stresses that his proposals for an exemplary learning must not be confused with an introduction of the case method in educational processes. The last chapter makes suggestions for an exemplary reorganization of the subject matter using examples from law and engineering.

2.3 Objective and Subjective Conditions of Worker Existence as a Condition for Exemplary Workers' Education Processes

The main body of Negt's book deals with concretizing the objective and subjective living conditions of workers which are important influencing factors of a new conception of workers' education (Chapters II, III, IV). In it he adopts some influential theoretical and empirical outcomes then available from social psychology, industrial sociology, and socio-linguistics, enabling him to outline the specifics of educational conditions for exemplary learning processes:

- Today's worker is in an "unstructured situation". His objective situation in the manufacturing process has not changed, however he currently lacks the guiding patterns for an interpretation of that situation. This unstructured situation generates tensions and anxieties in the worker. Therefore it is important to Negt that the "*worker-existence as social aggregate phenomenon*" (p.54) becomes the point of contact for educational work. This means to him that the subject of educational work is not only the wage issue, but also the psychic phenomena of this unstructured situation, namely anxiety and motives to do away with this unstructured situation. These attempts at elimination may in principle take two directions: Either a greater openness to the patterns of balancing and harmonizing different interests in society offered by the ruling ideology, or a greater openness for changes in consciousness in the direction of an awareness of one's own situation. Exactly and only because this latter openness exists has educational work aiming at consciousness-raising any chance at all.
- Educational work must begin where workers are conscious of conflicts ("institutionally given conflicts"), but it must not end there. It is essential to examine the manifest consciousness of conflicts for its psychic and cognitive

alienating mechanisms (e.g. the tendency to personalize structural conflicts). The alienated consciousness represses the structural conditions of conflicts in the worker-existence and concentrates on the symptoms of such conflicts. Educational work therefore must above all also take into account the conditions of origin and functions of this alienated consciousness.

- The manifest wage interests of workers must also be regarded as vicarious compensation. The satisfaction of "true societal needs" such as "a solidary communication of producers in managing working conditions and work products" is inadmissible in the current system of society, and the worker has therefore largely no other choice than to repress these needs. Striving for higher wages, a growing consumption of goods, and a retreat to privacy may—in this connection—also be regarded as vicarious compensation. Educational work that concentrates exclusively on these manifest wage and consumption interests therefore falls short.
- As a label for the basic linguistic structures of workers' thinking and behaviour Negt adopts the concept of "social topoi" from industrial sociology. They are "*interpretative models of social reality*" (p.63), "*forms of thought or language, idioms, clichés, stock phrases, commonplaces*" (p.135). These interpretative models of social reality (e.g. when workers talking of "them up there — us down here" interpret class, strata, and power structures) are neither mere prejudices nor incidental opinions. They are usually founded on collective experiences of groups and classes and have an ambivalent function for the development of consciousness of one's own situation: On the one hand they protect against a total integration into the ideology of a levelled middle class society, but they also contain elements which favour a reification of thinking and block the consciousness of the situation. From this analysis of topoi it is decisive for the educational process that these topoi must not be dismissed as irrational opinions or false consciousness, but that its "rational core of experience" is brought to light and fed into further consciousness-forming processes.
- The linguistic structures of "public language" prevalent among workers (Negt adopts Basil Bernstein's distinction of "formal" and "public" language) do not allow expression of the individually meant which often carries the decisive individual experiences of societal and individual conflicts.

Negt infers from this with regard to intentional education processes: "*It is unnecessary to bring up to the worker the emancipatory content of education by 'partisan instruction'. It is much more important to unfold (in the medium of formal language and empirico-scientific knowledge) the experiential contents not yet explicit and the experiences bound up in solidary communications*" (1975:80).

2.4 On the Effects of the Workers' Education Conception

Negt's book was very successful in theoretical and practical terms of workers', adult, and extra-curricular youth education. His thoughts furnished decisive ideas for restructuring educational work within various trade unions and the Federal Trade Union Association (DGB) (for summary accounts cf. Brock, 1978; Hindrichs, 1982; Görs, 1982; Alheit & Wollenberg, 1982; Brock/Hindrichs/Müller/Negt, 1987). By reason of the complex and ambitious design of this theoretical approach and the highly explosive, contradictory, political and societal practice to which it was referring, it was inevitable that it was debated controversially and exposed to many misunderstandings (still today). It had also become instrumentalized for political positions in the framework of intra- and extra-union conflicts. Nor does success mean that his theoretical thoughts were smoothly translated into practice and that there were no fundamental difficulties and unclarities in the realization of the basic "exemplary learning" idea in various areas of union education (see also section 3). In the past twenty years Negt's fundamental thoughts influenced not only union or union-related education but also — under the name of "experiential approach"— many other forms of adult and extra-curricular youth education, though of course it took different material forms. Adult education laws and paid educational leave in the early seventies — making possible the funding of political education — laid the foundation for practical experiments with the experiential approach. Negt's book had a fifth edition already in 1975. He himself saw his work initially as a theoretical draft for workers' education, but his approach has doubtless some elements for a general theory of adult education where the question of the person is at the centre of education — taking into account his historical-societal conditions. This explains why many adult education theory designs have been developed from a direct or indirect debate concerning the experiential approach and why this treatise includes the experiential paradigm.

3. On Further Theoretical Developments of the Experiential Approach

The more Negt's idea was applied in practice, the more it became clear that a conceptual gap had opened up between the theoretical foundation of the first outline for a revised workers' education and the phenomena of practical political (workers') education requiring further theoretical clarifications. Negt had not really dealt with workers' education theory in his other major writings during the seventies. His critics have taken issue with his conception of experience and he has conceded that his approach lacks accuracy by contributing some important clarifications (Negt, 1978, 1980). Brammerts et al. (1976) argue that experiences cannot be taken as the starting point of educational processes because no valid knowledge could come from them (similarly Werner, 1975).

Negt replies and clarifies that experiences contain factors of living presence, cognitions and actions, and that experience does not equal sense-data. "Experience" cannot directly be opposed to "valid knowledge". There is knowledge in experience and workers can and do use hypotheses, analyses, and syntheses of perceptions or estimations. Starting from the unity of various factors and aspects of experience and stressing the derivation of "experience" from a Hegelian tradition (cf Negt & Kluge, 1972), Negt phrases an essential premise of learning theory: he turns against any step-by-step concept of learning where different steps of experiential awareness are sharply divided.

The most glaring misunderstanding, in my opinion, of the theory in practising the experiential approach was indeed to organize political learning according to the following three-stage model, then as now often used as a model of temporal phases:

Phase I: The expression of experiences (what is our reality?)
Phase II: Analysis (why is our societal reality the way it is?)
Phase III: Actions required (what can we do against this societal reality?)

Negt compares these stages with learning theory premises used in management training and believes that workers' education — striving for a raised political consciousness— needs more that such a staged model.

The *interpretation pattern approach* tries to develop the "social topoi" concept and to clarify "experience" further (Dybowsky & Thomssen, 1982: short version in Thomssen, 1980). The approach posits that interpretations go beyond experience. They structure, interpret, and standardize experiences. Interpretations help people to structure events, situations, action requirements, and to put meaning into their actions. Interpretations possess their own internal logic which cannot simply be derived as a contradictory consciousness from real societal contradictions. Interpretative patterns are persistent and do not change unless acute action problems crop up. In such a pattern learning is understood as the differentiation and clarification of interpretation patterns.

I myself have tried in 1982 to demarcate more stringently the normative and motivational dimensions of "experience" using central concepts of "Critical Psychology" (Holzkamp, 1973; Holzkamp-Osterkamp, 1975-76). At the same time I demonstrate — aided by empirical material for learning processes in political education — that even those procedures combining content and method in an experiential approach isolate experiential levels too much, so that difficulties arise in connecting objectively meaningful sociocritical knowledge with the structures of meaning and interpretation, perception and assimilation of participants. Similar findings are stated in a report on the largest German empirical learning process project (the scientific accompaniment of the so-called Paid-Educational-Leave Trial- and Development-Program by Kejcz et al., 1979-80). On a pedagogical-practical level I conclude from this that traditional models of political education are too cognitivist and that a proactive learning promoting an action-orientation, emotionality, and autonomy can be enriched by the integration of art forms like theatre plays, video-camera productions, project-related action research, product-related learning into current models of political education (Holzapfel & Röhlke, 1987).

Other projects of the worker's education area also emphasize the difficulties in connecting objective knowledge stocks about work structures and manufacturing processes with subjective forms of transformation and motivations of workers. Isenberg & Korber (1983) demand — and practise therefore — at least for workers without any union function, *a stronger direction of educational work towards the total life-nexus:* manufacturing and reproduction areas (home life, leisure time, family) as starting subjects of equal importance for education, including a better consideration of everyday coping strategies for problems of such a life nexus (for a similar assessment concerning union youth education see Fiedler et al., 1987).

Alheit & Wollenberg (1982) are sceptical of all endeavours to improve the theoretical foundations of the experiential approach especially in the direction of didactic-methodical considerations. They reject the "epistemological differentiations" of Negt's approach and plead for a foundation of the *experiential approach as a concept for a political programme* biased towards the "*raw material of proletarian experience*" (Negt & Kluge, 1972): It is the analysis of the daily forms of workers coping with life. "Oral history" and biographical research therefore become essential points of reference to reveal workers' "*Eigensinn*"[2] which has always enabled them to organize their own life and to fight for their interest even under alienating conditions. They set forth their position in a very comprehensive overview of all other contributions to the experiential approach (for other overviews, also those beyond workers' education, cf. Gieseke-Schmelzle, 1983; Alheim, 1983).

A cautious overall evaluation of previous discussions shows a differentiated picture of possibilities and limits of the experiential approach: Theoretical considerations of "experience" and empirical research in practical pilot studies have made clear the limits of didactical implementations of experiential learning conceptions. *It would be appropriate to speak of a realistic turn of the didactics discussion in political education.* This kind of necessary concentration on those processes which really take place in adult education is no withdrawal. It can sharpen the mind for educational possibilities and free from omnipotence fantasies and the mostly ensuing frustration. Warnings of a pedagogization of complex problems of the constitution of consciousness are relevant in this context, unless they in turn endow their political programmatics of an experiential approach with overdrawn expectations and reject apodictically any form of adult education considerations.

4. Everyday-, Participant-, Self-Orientations

Theoretical and practical difficulties with the experiential approach in workers' education and other fields of political adult education — also to be seen on the background of far-reaching societal crises and a conservative turn in politics — were reasons to adopt various adult education conceptions: Everyday life and everyday knowledge (phenomenological, ethnomethodological, marxist, and symbolic interaction approaches). There was also the rise of new social and political movements which had their political point of departure no more in the conflicts and frictions of manufacture but in areas of reproduction.

Von Werder (1980, 1982) criticizes on the strength of these concepts that established adult education institutions do not reach the majority of citizens. He pleads for a fundamental reorientation of adult education towards learning spheres beyond adult education institutions (e.g. rent, housing, sanitization problems in local quarters as incentives to learn for those concerned). Other authors (Knopf/Möller/Schmidt, 1978; Runkel, 1976; Holzapfel 1978) regard everyday approaches first of all as new opportunities for further differentiation and subdivision of educational interests, educational needs, forms of learners' perception and appropriation, and for a sensitization of pedagogues for the structure and complexity of learning conditions on behalf of participants' learning processes (both for organized learning processes in institutions and informal ones). Alheit (1983a; 1983b) agrees, but points a warning finger to the danger of "colonizing" and "pedagogizing" participants' life-worlds by an everyday orientation.

Everyday theories in adult education interested in differentiated learning conditions partly overlap strongly in content, time-span, and persons with those experiential approaches presented in section 3. Altogether these theoretical attempts share a common interest in knowledge: the quest for a possibility to connect alienated individual interests with a societal development under a utopian perspective of freedom from alienating manufacturing situations.

With regard to the learning and education of adults this interest in knowledge always leads to a social science or sociological examination of the learning and education requirements of potential and actual course participants whatever the organized learning context.

This approach overlaps with other adult education theories that use social science or sociological arguments and centre on the sounding of learning and education requirements. This refers mainly to those approaches of adult education theory and didactics which use "everyday-knowledge" (phenomenology, ethnomethodology, symbolic inter-actionism) to define the social determinants of learners and the interaction processes of teachers and learners and which usually abstract from societal and historical determinants of daily life and everyday consciousness (cf. e.g. Mader & Weymann, 1975; Mader & Weymann, 1979; Gerl, 1980; Dewe & Wosnitza, 1981; contributions of Breloer, Siebert, Ebert & al., and Schmitz, in Schlutz & Siebert, 1984; Tietgens, 1980).

Looking back we can say that during the boom of the everyday-knowledge debate these points of contact between various adult education theories were less prominent that their differences. An empirically substantiated theory of adult education will have no choice but to integrate various everyday approaches in a synthesis that includes adult education queries.

Central aspects of the debate concerning experiential and everyday orientations also appear of course in adult education theory under the label of participant and addressee orientation (cf. Mader, 1981; Breloer et al, 1980). The most general conceptual content of participant orientation comprises the principle that adult education has to start from where the participants are (with all their previous learning experiences) and not from a "subject matter" (Tietgens, 1980:177). Since the experiential and everyday approaches have mainly tried to clarify the learning preconditions of participants in educational processes (in the end always with regard to teachable stocks of knowledge),[3] these theory elements of adult education can also be discussed under the aspect of participant direction competing and compared with other theoretical approaches. I would say that *participant orientation* is the smallest common denominator of most adult education theory elements. This is particularly evident in conference papers of the German Society for Educational Science, Adult Education Branch, Autumn 1980, entitled *Theorien zur Erwachsenenbildung* (Theories of Adult Education) (Mader, 1981) with widely differing contributions from various domains of science trying to clarify the principles of participant direction, life-world orientation, target group orientation, and everyday-world orientation (Mader, 1981:1; cf. also Breloer, 1980, where most different theory fractions of the adult education debate are reviewed and assessed). If participant orientation is to be more than just a collective term for most heterogeneous theories, research outcomes, and didactical-methodical principles of adult education which intend to build up a theory of adult education didactics by determining learning conditions of participants, then it could perhaps be achieved by making participant orientation a theory focusing on adult education with a precise content dealing with relevant theories and research from sciences to which adult education refers (cf. Siebert, 1981:96).

The concepts of experiential, everyday, and participant orientation hitherto referred to originated in the course of a social science interpretation of adult education activities. This social-scientification of adult education has in recent years not only been seen as a necessity and opportunity, but also as a problem. The criticism was that in spite of all concentration on the subjective conditions of socio-politically motivated adult education, the individuals themselves found little consideration in these concepts. In the early eighties this resulted increasingly in the development of theoretical approaches enriching the concept of experience by making "*the individual the systematic starting point*" and theory building "*sticking to this focus of considerations and activities*" (Kade, 1982:11; cf. also, as an example of this discussion, Geissler & Kade, 1982).

This *turn to the self* in the debate of adult education got various labels (biographical orientation, reflective turn, identity learning; cf Geissler & Kade, 1982 for this discussion). It can be rated as a necessary swing of the pendulum in opposition to the danger of a socio-political instrumentalization of adult education and as an expression of a societal erosion crisis.

A bias towards a new inwardness and the danger of a therapeuticalization of educational processes in the course of such a turn towards the person have been mentioned warningly. It is indisputable that this accent on individuality is an expression and a consequence of a crisis in political thinking (cf. articles by Siebert, Nuissl, Heinen-Tenrich, Beer, in Siebert & Weinberg, 1987).

The occasional high esteem for "alternative" political education (Heger et al., 1983; Rimmek, 1986) and for concepts of "ecological" learning (Michelsen & Siebert, 1985; Beer, 1982) cannot (and partly wishes not to) obscure this fact. In these concepts as well — often developed and applied in close contact with the new social and political movements — experiential approaches of the recent kind play an important role: it is all about fresh experiences with the understanding of nature, engineering and science, fresh experiences with a healthy life by a different nutrition, medicine, and everyday practice of health exercises. These recent considerations about adult education also show the first signs of overcoming the crisis in political education by making the "subjectivation of the political" a basic requirement (Heinen-Tenrich, 1987:36).

5. Three Theses from a Vantage Point

(1) Experiential and similar paradigmatic approaches belong to the most important theories of adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany. This must not obscure the fact that they cover a rather small section of adult education, namely political education and certain fields of general and socio-cultural adult education. This disquieting fact should provoke the question whether and how far adult education experiential-approach theories are esoteric and exotic.

(2) Compared with other theoretical considerations in adult education the theoretical approaches remain fractionary in spite of their elaboration. In view of the global problems and their generic, societal, political, economic, and individual aspects more differentiated and comprehensive theories are necessary where an experiential approach could be one aspect. In my opinion we need a comprehensive concept of general education comprising the traditional central contents of the experiential approach (society and individual), but enlarged by other essential dimensions (nature, economy, engineering, culture).

(3) Paradoxes of experiential approaches are a special challenge to such an aggregate concept: The more our senses have become unreliable in this world of science and engineering, the more they will be deprived of their perceptibility, the more we are simultaneously affected by these scientific and technical developments in our daily lives — (you cannot see and feel the preservatives in fresh food, not atomic rays: politicians and scientists are armchair planners of an economy and technology no longer touchable and visible, with immeasurable consequences for other people both around them and far away, etc.) — the more it becomes imperative to provide permanent space for experiencing nature and society, so that experiences of potential individual and collective developments can be felt, seen, and made from there; the more necessary becomes the appropriation, transformation, and teaching of abstract

> knowledge stocks for more and more people in such a way that they can be made understandable and controllable from within such experiential space still available and expandable.

Anders (1956) has tried to capture the necessity and difficulty of having our actions guided by our senses and experiences. He calls it the "Promethean Gradient":††The difference and slope of various abilities, from the extent of our engineering mind to the less sizable imagination and on to our feelings and responsibilities unable to match the possibilities of such an engineering mind (Anders, 1956:267-268, on the Bomb, §1; for adult education cf. Gronemeyer, 1989:15ff). He goes on to talk of the necessity "to form the ethical imagination" and of the attempted development of a "plasticity of feeling". Is not adult education able and obliged to contribute? Is the enlargement of a sociological imagination by ethical and intuitive dimensions at stake?

Summary: *During the last twenty years experiential orientation has become one of the central directions in the content and method related theory and practice of adult and extra-school youth education. Basic trends of the theory debates are traced from Oskar Negt's Sociological Imagination and Exemplary Learnings in the early sixties onwards. The connection of the debate about an experiential direction with other basic approaches are shown (everyday-, participant-, and self-orientations). Relationships (and breaks) in the theory debates within societal developments are outlined. A concluding section examines the current range of the experiential approach for various areas of adult education, mentioning e.g. the paradoxes of and in such an approach, one of the major challenges for self-orientated education.*

A Note on the Author

Günther Holzapfel, Professor Dr. rer. pol., sociologist, born in 1941. Member of the research staff, Heidelberg Study Group for System Research, 1969-1970. Staff member (1970-1974) and Managing Director (1975-1977) of the Study Group for Empirical Research on Education. Assistant Professor at the Institute of Adult Education and Social Pedagogy, Free University of Berlin, 1976-1979. Professor in the Department of Adult Education, University of Bremen, since 1979.

The following scholars influenced my professional work and thinking profoundly: First of all Max Weber (his "basic sociological terms", his essays "on the methodology of the social sciences", and his writings on religious sociology, such as the *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Jürgen Habermas certainly comes next with his earlier books on *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962), *Zur Logik der Sozialwissenschaften* (1967 with additional material in 1970), and his contributions to a socialization theory based upon a hermeneutical, social theory of communication. Then there are Karl Marx's early writings (his understanding of the changeability of society) and Freud's psychoanalysis. Last but not least I would mention Negt's *Sociological Imagination*... because of his direct impact on my ideas concerning adult and workers' education in particular. Recently, through the "critical psychology" of

Klaus Holzkamp and Ute Holzkamp-Osterkamp, I became interested in A. N. Leontjev (1903-1979).

Notes

[1] Negt often talks of educative teaching [E] in the context of workers' education (1975; pp. 16, 18, 19, 75, 80). It would be interesting and necessary to clarify the relation of this term with education [B] and learning in this treatment. Educative teaching usually has connotations of a "trainee's" dependence on a "trainer". Does Negt consider such connotations of his concept?

[2] making stubbornly sense on their own (behalf) [M.H.]

[3] On a theoretical level "sharing experiences" versus "teaching systematic knowledge" has always been a mock controversy. Since the discussion of "Sociological Imagination and Exemplary Learning" the focal point was exactly *how* to connect educational content with personal and objective learning requirements of the participants, never *whether* systematic knowledge or experiential knowledge (and reflection) are the centre of educational processes. On a practical level of educational work (particularly with short-time courses) both elements (content and experience) can become so divergent that they are hard to connect at all.

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The Biographical Approach to Adult Education[1]

Peter Alheit

> *Life can only be understood backwards.*
> *In the meantime, it has to be lived forwards.*
> *Søren Kierkegaard*

1. The "Biographical Question" as a Challenge

Kierkegaard's ironic remark is amazingly up-to-date and points to a dilemma when, on the one hand, we have scholarly interest in biographical questions, and on the other hand are urged to transform theoretical insights into perspectives of educational action. Professional adult educators who, in a "biographical paradigm",[2] consider learning processes to be meaningful, do indeed face this very problem: No sooner is fresh social science knowledge about "biography" absorbed, than practical application has already developed a long-felt need for didactic "recipes". The time for understanding life is in conflict with the necessity to get on with it.

It is true that the subject of "biography" is not unfamiliar to professional teaching. The genesis of humane pedagogy is intertwined with it (cf. Misch's four heavy double-volumes, 1904ff, as just one example), and its affinity with the classical task of adult education, to accompany people on their lifelong learning journey, is significant (cf. Schlutz, 1985, for a fascinating summary). And yet, there are indications that the recent use of "biography" as a concept comprises more than these familiar associations. Contemporary life-courses seem to have become harder. The traditional anticipations of life's phases and scripts are in a muddle. At least, certain indicators which are highly intriguing from an educational point of view, can hardly be overlooked any longer.

Noticeable are, first of all, some frantic shifts in lifetime budgets in societies of our own type. Not only is the youth phase expanding by undesirable, long "moratoria" (cf. Fuchs, 1983; Allerbeck & Hoach, 1985; Fuchs & Zinnecker, 1985; Zoll et al., 1989;

to name but a few), but so does the phase of late adulthood. Still in 1940 the average American adult spent just seven per cent of his lifetime in retirement. By the end of the seventies it was twenty-five per cent (cf. Torrey, 1982; similarly Kohli, 1987). Even intimate, individual time-budgets have, statistically speaking, changed noticeably. The period of active parenthood has markedly shrunk compared with the nineteenth century, whereas the role of childhood has considerably expanded within the lifespan (cf. Gee, 1987). For the first time in history individuals spend more time of their lives as children of parents still alive than in the role of parents of children under the age of twenty. The "aging child" is an expression not at all absurd (Watkins et al., 1987). The profile of adulthood has obviously shifted.

This tendency is reinforces by parallel developments: Besides the time-budget, the "blueprint of a normal biography" is in disarray. The social institution of a "life's course" (cf. Kohli, 1985, 1986, 1989), organized around a working life biography, is becoming more and more diffuse. An unproblematic sequence of phases like "learning and preparing", "activity", "rest" is valid only for a small number of predominantly male life-courses in our culture and civilization. Transitional phases have long since become a social predicament (cf. Heinz, 1987). Ever changing status passages loom large. At the same time the importance of the active phase of working life starts dropping and moving away from the life-course centre. Not only does the time of gainful employment drop, but the structure of the activity phase changes as well. Phases of working are interrupted by those of new preparation. Processes of adult education supplement and overlap active occupation. Adulthood is no more coupled unreservedly with a typical activity of male full-time jobs.[3] It looks as if, in this process, the focusing strength of the protestant work-ethic— one of the most effective patterns of modern capitalist interpretation — also declines (cf. Weber, [1904] 1920). New post-materialistic directions become visible (cf. Inglehart, 1989, to name but one), or — in other words — a certain "feminization" of the life-course rule. It is not unthinkable in the near future that we shall interpret our life-courses either as biographies of cultural education [B] or, alternatively, as biographies of self-actualization, with biographies of working or occupational careers becoming peripheral.

In this process "life-trajectories in social space" (Bourdieu) are nearly bound to lose their straight course. Class, sex, generation still have their part to play as "biographical resources" (cf. Hoerning, 1989), but their prognostic value for the perspectives of factual life-courses appears to be lower. Collective, biographical patterns tend to be marginalized by individual risk situations (cf. Beck, 1986). Longitudinal studies of women's working-life biographies evidence a surprising richness in complexity and differentiation (cf. Moen, 1985). Research made in traditional, homogeneous social settings reports growing erosion processes (cf. Beck, 1983; Moser, 1984, to name but two). Comparative studies within the same age cohort show an increase of heterogeneous life-courses particularly at an advanced age (cf. Dannefer, 1988; Dannefer & Sell, 1988).

It seems to be more problematic "to live one's life". Traditional life-scripts lose their accuracy. Biography itself has become a learning ground where transitions must be anticipated and managed, and where identity possibly is but the result of difficult learning processes (cf. Gildemeister & Robert, 1986). Biographies become more complicated, individual, "paranormal", but also more colourful, autonomous, and self-willed.[4] Life's course apparently seems to become a kind of unplanned "laboratory" that serves to develop capabilities which provisionally do not figure in any curriculum. Without any doubt this is a strong challenge to adult education. How is it to respond?

The following considerations are a tentative response. Certainly, there is no final solution; rather a meaningful differentiation of some aspects singled out from a complex, overarching inquiry. The first step will be an inquiry into the "theory-strategic" originality of biography as a concept (Part 2). Does the concept really announce a new shift of problem or is it just another label for well-known questions?[5] A discussion of the specific educational utility of the concept follows next (Part 3). The multitude of biographical approaches, particularly in cultural-educational sciences [BW], is certainly no indication of their necessity, but neither is it a symptom of a mere fad (Alheit, 1984a). We shall end on an outline of a programmatic framework by debating just one of Bourdieu's theses (Part 4). A concise summary will serve as a conclusion (Part 5).

2. On the Originality of Biography as a Construct

A biography is undoubtedly no trivial sequence of contingent life events, but in essential parts a given social structure to be actualized by individuals. Pertinent aspects are temporality and chronology: Biographies proceed in various phases, and these phases essentially follow the chronological age. They establish a kind of guiding pattern of standard biography. This view does not, of course, imply that all human beings in fact experience such a standard biography. On the contrary, there are good grounds to assume that characteristic departures may be observed in certain social groups (cf. e.g. Levy, 1977, for the special situation of women), and that changes in society even shift standards themselves (summarizing: Hagestad, 1989). The guiding function of the "normal life-course" however, remains decisive (cf. Kohli, 1985; Fischer & Kohli, 1987).— We have an idea of how our life-course ought (properly speaking) to function, even if we experience drastic deviation and destandardization. We have to rely on a sequence-grid for the more or less successful synchronization of our real lives.

Important as such biographical, normalized schemes are, they cannot, of course, anticipate all options available in a concrete biography. A wealth of alternative actions remains from which we ourselves, as individuals, have to choose:

- Is a vocational career the central perspective of our life or are there other preferences?
- Do we wish to remain single or found a family?
- Which family model do we prefer; a hierarchical patriarchy or a partnership?

- Will our future life-planning be burdened by a house or would we rather manage without financial ties?
- Are we to join a political party or stick to a more private life?
- Do we insist on a return to work or spend all our efforts on family and children?

So, biographies comprise both: emergence and structure. The two important and problematic aspects of any scientific interpretation of the social world, the object and subject perspective, are integrated here, already at the very level of concrete action and not after the event, by theoretical reconstruction.[6] It is here that the concept of biography finds its decisive, strategic importance, and it seems reasonable to describe this special "performance" in greater detail.

A person's contingent efforts, necessary for developing an individual biography, appear to require latent structures. Individuals have very concrete, biographical experiences which, in turn, enable them to do and act sensibly. But what do we mean by "experiencing"? Evidently, the process is anything else but trivial. We do not have any randomly imaginable experience; the experiences are our "very own", our concrete biography has drawn boundaries around our sedimented, experiential knowledge in space and time — in space, because the social field as experienced is largely determined (cf. Bourdieu, 1978), in time, because biographies have a beginning and an end.

Moreover, the statement that experiences are "our very own" is fraught with meaning: "*Experience means to know now better than before*" (Fischer & Kohli, 1987:32). This may happen differently, by finding that our current experiences confirm our previous, biographical knowledge, and by unproblematically integrating biographical "novelties" into the available pattern of interpretation. Our implicit knowledge is strengthened, we know "better" than before (cf. in detail Alheit & Hoerning, 1989). Or, we cannot build in new experiences without upsetting the old experiential resources. We are obliged to revise our biographical knowledge. This process will also lead to knowing "better" afterwards.[7]

Two aspects are of theoretical interest: Experience is always acquired on the basis of available, organized knowledge. There is no experience "in itself". Our experiential gain is— in the words of Schutz and Luckmann— "articulated biographically" (1979, I:85ff). On the other hand, the structure of our biographical knowledge is dependent on the present perspective. The emergent, actual experience may well change grown structures. "Biography" as the meeting place of personal experience in time is a fascinating example for the ambiguities of social life: The concept stands, on the one hand, for an always individual, yet not at all random structure of implicit knowledge: on the other hand it represents the emerging experience, alive and present, perhaps shedding a different light on the biographical past, keeping the biographical future open.

It looks as if we had another concept for the relative openness of our biographical future, bordering equally and exclusively on the emergence dimension of the biographical: the concept of action, being an activity laden with personal meaning and intentionality. Closer examination reveals, however, that such action is not free of ambiguity either. A certain action that we choose and provide with a specific personal meaning, after the event possibly comes out differently. The situation and consequences of the action were unpredictable. The action outcome runs counter to our expectations. Others may have assumed a wholly different meaning. In other words, potentially each concrete action so to speak will exceed the actor's intention and meaning. The personal intention of the action is just one of many other possible meanings (cf. Fischer & Kohli, 1987:37).

One explanation of this characteristic feature is the assumption that behind a personal, intended action lies a structure also in operation, because we are not at all required to perform ceaselessly intentional actions with far-reaching biographical consequences. For long periods of our lives, other decision makers (family partners or institutional protagonists) deal with that which will influence the next steps of our biography. It is plausible to suppose that the decisive points where we engage in actively managing our biographical future, also cannot be dissociated from structural conditions and have a "logic" reaching beyond the actual action framework. Schütze has used examples of biographical "trajectories" or "change processes" and has shown convincingly in theory and practice that structures, indeed imposing certain actions, can dominate biographies for long periods (cf. Schütze, 1981, 1984). In contrast, Kohli has used the construct of "the most likely path" (cf. 1981) as a less dramatic variant, but his solution as well points to an ulterior structure of everyday agents.[8] Here again we can observe this biographical ambiguity between emergence and structure.

We may therefore see biographies as sequential orders of pre-given societal "patterns" which cannot be changed at random. This is the structural aspect of the biography. In view of contemporary signs of erosion, it is probably necessary to specify with precision the plausible construct of a life-course which has been "institutionalized" (Kohli, 1985, 1986) in the modernization process.[9] The elaboration of biographies with shorter ranges, as proposed in Schütze's "Prozeßstrukturen des Lebensablaufs" (Process-Structures of the Life-Course) (1981), will certainly remain a sensible desideratum. On the other hand, we cannot comprehend biographies without the dimensions of emergence and self-willed individuality in the biographical process.

This double perspective, though, must not be thought of as the harmonious reciprocity of two levels: The dimensions of emergence and structure, and the perspectives of person and object do not fit directly. Their relation is one of dialectical tension, the foundation of any subjectivity. Biographical action is guided by socially pre-given developmental patterns, needs them and cannot escape their constraints, but it is not absorbed by repetitive action. It does not merely reproduce certain social-structural conditions on an individual level, but "*has always the additional character of an open design*" (Kohli, 1985:21). Experiences and action patterns acquired in the biographical journey do not simply add up. Qualitative leaps, breaks, surprising fresh starts, moments of emergence and autonomy happen, and this very ambiguity makes biography as a social phenomenon so interesting for a conceptual strategy. It is not the theoretical effectiveness of sociology or pedagogy, various identity or socialization concepts in particular, but the social reality encapsulated biographically which create the productive tension between the perspective of the person and the object, both essential for any pedagogical inquiry.

3. The "Biographical Paradigm" in Education

It comes as a surprise to find this dialectic already in a classical text of pedagogy: Schleiermacher, in his 1826 pedagogical lectures sets a twofold task to any goal of educative teaching [E]: *"namely, making fit for the community, and the development of personal character"* (1957:66), or, in modern parlance, coping with structures and being open to redesigning one's own life.

At a highly abstract level this double option is certainly a triviality of educational theory building. However, tracing back the historical traditions of education science with a critical eye, it becomes obvious that this dialectics has not had formative influence on concepts. Classical cultural-educational [B] theories often hypostatize the unfolding of the individual, detached from structural conditions, paving the way— if at all— for "*the development of personal traits*" of the socially privileged (cf. the pertinent criticism of Schulze's, 1985:29). The "toughening for the good of society" at the expense of personal traits has resulted in some rather frightening examples in our century (cf. Gamm, 1984, among others). Even the defence of the individual, the battle cry of critical theories of upbringing and education, calling for the defence of the individual against societal instrumentalization— with their concepts of "emancipation", "mature independence", or "self-determination"— is keeping peculiarly aloof from the concrete individual (cf. once again Schulze, 1985:30).

The recent prominence of the biography concept also in educational science contexts seems to have less to do with the critical reflection of educational theoretical traditions of the last two centuries than with contemporary symptoms: Evidently more than ever before, individuals themselves have to strike a balance between objective requirements and subjective idiosyncrasies. The "toughening for society" and the "development of personal traits" can scarcely be integrated by institutions. The biography itself is becoming the focus. The biographies on their own *"must link several fields of experience and action on pain of personal breakdown or permanent social handicap... They must even balance outwardly irreconcilable demands and requirements of various institutionally differentiated subsystems, learning and living areas, which otherwise they could not cope with each and every day... It is individuals, instead of the social primary group, who are becoming the centres of cooperation and coordination for actions and life-plans of different people... They actively create sociality or are threatened by social isolation and loneliness"* (Körber, 1989:139).

This downright, pointed diagnosis of our time is undoubtedly pressing for educational-theoretical consequences. It has also been given the eye-catching label of the empirically rather controversial "individualization-thesis"[10] (cf. Beck, 1986:205ff). It appears to be plausible to connect the growing importance of the biography theme in education with this prominent diagnosis of our time. This contemporary symptom does not guarantee a convincing theory, indeed has not lead to a consistent concept of "biographical pedagogy", yet resulted in a number of more or less elaborate approaches which deserve a closer look. Six of them will be studied and critically examined:[11]

3.1. The anthropological approach,

3.2. The compensatory approach,

3.3. The autobiographical approach,

3.4. The historical approach,

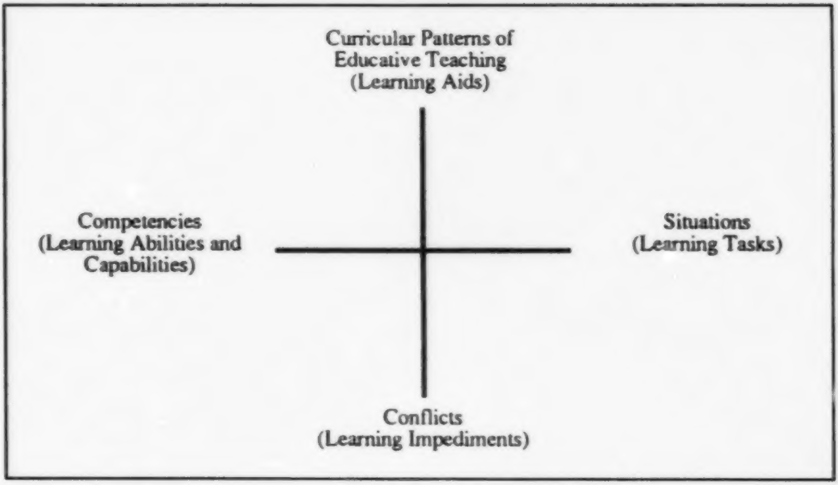
3.5. The intercultural approach,

3.6. The emancipatory approach.

3.1 The Anthropological Approach

This label covers the best established and elaborated "biographical theory of education" [E] in the German-speaking linguistic area, developed by Werner Loch and his students (cf. Spanhel, 1988, to name but one). In his masterpiece *Lebenslauf und Erziehung* (Life-Course and Educative Teaching) Loch follows the humanistic tradition, (and Dilthey in particular) (1979:121ff), expanding the pedagogical vitalism by phenomenological and linguistic aspects (cf. Loch, 1981:37ff). Loch tries to substantiate that "*in the course of time, the human individual, once born, has to and usually can develop a range of abilities which may be presented as a meaningful and anthropologically required sequence of capability-stages*" (1981:33). He calls these abilities and capabilities— which bring to mind classical stage-theorems of pedagogy and developmental psychology— "curricular competencies".[12] "Curricular", of course, has little to do with technocratic, so-called "curriculum models", but rather refers explicitly to the Comenius type of curriculum vitae meant to ensure a holistic education process.

Loch posits a "staged ladder of capabilities" all human beings have to pass through in order to be able to cope with certain "curricular situations" or life-events (1981:41ff). If curricular competencies and curricular situations lack synchronization, "learning impediments" occur and educative teaching is most relevant. It tries to counter impediments by "learning aids". Biographical developments may lead to a variety of "curricular conflicts" (frictions between competencies and situations) to which so-called "curricular education patterns" react. Within what Loch calls an "egological model of educative teaching", a process unfolds which he calls the "cross of educative teaching" (1981:46):


Curricular Patterns of Educative Teaching (Learning Aids)
Competencies (Learning Abilities and Capabilities)
Situations (Learning Tasks)
Conflicts (Learning Impediments)

The clarity of the scheme also brings out its limitation: The consistency of Loch's biographical theory of education is due to its ahistorical reference to anthropological constants. It is true that Spanhel, among others, values Loch's conception on the background of acute modern crises (1988:7ff), but he cannot explain away the societal-theoretical gap of the theory. The "pressure to design one's biography" burdening the individuals of developed capitalist societies (cf. Fuchs, 1983:366), cannot be written off by ahistorical "curricular competencies". Biographical developments themselves change with historically modified "learning tasks". In the context of concrete biographies, structure and emergence do not form a "prestabilized harmony", but an area of tension changing the biography. Loch's conception is interesting because of its convincing linkage between biography and education theories (cf. Kaltschmid 1988:106ff for more detail). Its practical use for adult education, however, is limited,[13] for it provides no convincing answer to current societal crises and the consequences of modernization, both intervening in biographies.

3.2 The Compensatory Approach

Concepts focusing on situations of biographical crises claim to provide exactly such answers. It seems adequate to use the descriptive, but general label "compensatory" because educational processes deal— at least indirectly— with problematic situations in an adult's biography, and with overcoming difficulties. A rather successful paradigm, giving access to biographical crises, is the "critical life-events" concept (cf. Filipp, 1981, to name but one). It is, apparently, unproblematic to identify such topical events (cf. Breloer, 1984; Siebert, 1984; Kade, 1985). They coincide with risky situations mainly in social status passages, e.g. in the transition from education to occupation, on re-entry into a job, on the threshold of retirement.

On closer inspection the apparent plausibility of this pedagogical access to a biography is becoming more problematic. The phenomenon of "critical life-events" itself and the particular way of individual treatment are more ambiguous than the much used lists of events suggest. From a person's point of view, apart from relatively standardized social status passages, any number of life-events may become "critical": From an awkward humiliation, or the birth of one's first child, to a serious accident. The problem is less a theoretical multitude of constellations, but the fact that each event may have completely different consequences in various biographies. The birth of a child to a career-woman may lead to a dramatic internal struggle with the revision of her life-plan, whereas a well-off "latish" father will perhaps have moments of deep and unexpected joy.

Critical life-events happen at specific forms of biographically accumulated experience and currently dominant process structures of life's progress. It is extremely important whether they hit biographies at a time when the individual is, to a large extent, free to act, or when loss of control and trajectory-like entanglements prevail (cf. Schütze, 1981:88ff; Alheit, 1984a, II:37ff). Besides, their management is contingent on the surrounding world of the biographical agent, on the functioning of the social or family setting to which he belongs (cf. the critical remarks of Siebert, 1985:44f). Not the event itself is decisive, but the biography on which it impacts. A reasonable application of the "critical life-event concept" in education would require either solid empirical experiences with biographical developments of certain selected groups, or a convincing biographical theory for a framework that could adequately handle ambivalent, critical life-events.

Schuchardt has made a valuable attempt at analysing the biographies of handicapped people by tracing the comparatively precarious examples of all people involved coping with crises in staged processes during marked critical life-events (cf. her spiral model, 1980:113). She does succeed in proposing an empirically grounded theory of "learning to accept" for the handicapped and the regaining of autonomy to act. The learning process from cognitive realization via emotional acceptance to active participation is on a plausible footing because it can also be interpreted as a "healing process". The compensatory-educational intervention is guided by a therapeutic paradigm. When this model is generalized for adult education, though, the dilemma of blurring concepts such as "therapy", "research", and "education" arises. Schuchardt pleads emphatically for these area boundaries to be abolished (1987). The fuzziness between "learning" and "healing" is thus becoming a problematic, great area (cf. Mader, 1983, for a critique of this kind of merging tendency). A "biography-guided adult education" is, as it were, vanishing behind the dim contours of an over-expanded therapeutic setting (cf. also Holzapfel, 1989).[14]

This tendency towards a professional blurring of boundaries is but the emphatic expression of a general trend in West German adult education. Since Schmitz in particular— following Oevermann's professionalization concept— has attached the label of "vicarious interpretation" to adult education (cf. Schmitz, 1983, 1984), the professional self-image of andragogues seems to shift successively from educational to therapeutical interaction processes. There can be no doubt that Schmitz' considerations are valuable also on the background of biography-guided education processes. The idea that each individual "*is principally under pressure to keep single actions compatible with his biographically stratified action plans and its rules*" (Schmitz, 1984:118) is biographically-theoretically important and has also a compensatory-therapeutical impetus, for it includes the anticipation of failure: "*If reality is a socially construed nexus of meanings, than this nexus is operative only as long as it is kept alive by meaningful interactions... Only this long will it be his reality and only this long can he recognize his identity in that reality*" (1984:118). If this "reality" is becoming doubtful, adult education can provide a certain distance to an unmediated insecurity, can clarify possible contradictions between "subjective" and "objective" reality by offering knowledge and a mediating role in helpful discourses (1984:120f). Adult education is "therapeutic" in a paradigmatic sense, but without unwittingly crossing the professional bounds of therapeutical settings— working on the "inner reality" (1984:119).

In addition, adult education benefits from Oevermann's "wide" concept of therapy. Continual modernization pushes make personal sense-bestowing a fundamental problem. Meaning is less and less guaranteed by the individuals' unquestioned sharing of culture and society; its creation is left to the people themselves who are structurally overloaded (cf. Oevermann, 1981). The process does not exclusively lead to "pathological", but also to quite "normal" integrity shortcomings. Professional circles feel an increasing demand for quasi-therapeutic help in problem treatment, a demand going beyond curing clinical "pathologies". Adult education as well is taking on "therapeutic" function (cf. Koring, 1987, in great detail).

Behind this plausible construct of professional, theoretical legitimation, some serious aporias lie hidden. The radical objection by proponents of a structuralist discourse analysis— professional treatment of "modern" lack of meaning would just increase the deterioration of traditional, meaningful resources (cf. Foucault, 1971, 1974; also Habermas, 1985; Weymann, 1989)— will be put aside here. For adult education it is more important to point out the real danger of a globalized lack of integrity or identity losing touch with the concrete aims of quasi-therapeutic activities. A subjective lack of meaning generated by society cannot simply be treated individually; "*the loss of meaningfully integrated social worlds is hitting not only the 'client', but also the professional who is here becoming a 'client' himself*" (Gildemeister & Robert, 1986:13). There is indeed no reason for the quasi-therapeutic process to be spared a loss of meaning, and for vicarious interpretations to be structurally less damaged than "primary" interpretations of ordinary human beings.[15]

It is symptomatic, by the way, that the postulated normality of an identity crisis has long since given up the independence of the biographical dimension. Out lives are not just successful or unsuccessful self-interpretations, but also chains of events that happen and must be dealt with. Certainly, each event must be fit into our experiential housing, and this means also "interpreted", but it will remain a recallable narrative that is— together with other stories— the very gist of one's life. This emergent potential of any biography is underestimated, if life-courses are considered only in the light of lacking integrity quasi-therapeutically to be compensated for (cf. Alheit, 1988, for further discussion). Compensatory approaches of biography-guided adult education remain attached to an artificial construct of "normality". They conceive of learning processes mainly as (guided) adaptation processes. Subjectivity, as an emergent action potential capable of actively countering societally induced disintegration processes, is thus getting out of sight. Biography is understood as a usually damaged outcome of "modern" developments, and not as an authentic process in transition, as an always personal "answer" to modernization.

3.3 The Autobiographical Approach

According to its aspirations, at least, this option relies on concepts derived from autobiographical recollections. The methodically most advanced variant approach, much used in adult education courses, especially in the United States, is undoubtedly the "Guided Autobiography" technique developed by Birren (cf. Birren & Hedlund, 1987; Mader, 1987).[16] Its characteristic procedure is a "topical approach", a guided reconstruction of the biography by themes. Helped by a limited number of "generative" themes (family, death, body, money, time, and others) autobiographical experiences are remembered, exchanged, worked through individually, in small groups, and in plenary sessions (cf. Mader, 1987:6ff).

Unlike the other concepts of biography-guided adult education discussed earlier, we find here that the cultural educational perspective is expressly made the centre; method and didactical principles are well founded and made transparent (cf. Mader, 1987:13-21 in extenso): Each theme is considered earnestly in its own right and constitutes a distinct learning unit ("thematic element").[17] Participants are encouraged to jot down their thoughts about a "theme" succinctly and in writing ("written element")— a procedure that contributes to the objectivation of individual experience and will promote another didactic principle, that of a personal commitment to reflectivity ("singular-reflective element"). This act of self-examination is supplemented by exchanging and sharing one another's autobiographical details in a small group ("social-communicative element"), eventually aiming at a hopefully vivid generalization of personal experiences ("metaphorical element").

In spite of its plausible method and, in practical terms, apparently quite successful approach to an "autobiography" (cf. Mader, 1987), Birren's concept does not go beyond those approaches criticized earlier: The "topical approach" as well— similar to the "critical life-event approach"— tries to blaze a virtually "digital" trail into the biography. It posits tacitly that each biography is constituted by existential "topoi" of almost anthropological dignity.

Nobody can argue that topics such as family, aging, sexuality, or death are not part of human life's inventory. They do not change according to fashion. Yet this statement is true only at the highest level of abstraction. Indeed, the dramatic crumbling of meaningful interior resources in the course of present-day modernization processes has long since reached the metaphorical association-horizon of such cultural "universals". The personal meaning of "family", "death", or "money" is certainly also dependent on the social framework of the biography, what with the plurality of life-styles and everyday worlds. A successful discourse on topoi embraced by a Guided Autobiography needs social and spatial closeness, and is, no doubt, presupposed by the concept without further reflection. The "element in writing", for instance, as an essential component of autobiographical, objectivated experience, is socially highly selective. The concept's covert "creaming-off" effect is patently obvious here. The Guided Autobiography as well is about stabilizing (typical middle-class) biographical expectations of normality, and that by a learning process, not by therapeutic intervention.

The second affinity to compensatory approaches lies in a preference for interpretative, biographical reconstructions. The "thematic", the "written", and also the "metaphorical element" oblige and direct the biography-guided discourse towards higher predicative meanings of an "autobiography": namely topical evaluations, or metaphorical condensations. The immediate relation to events and actions— so prevalent in biographical experiences during a narrative recapitulation— will necessarily recede (cf. Schütze, 1984; Alheit, 1984a, II).

Here again it is indisputable that the retrospective interpretation of the autobiography can have a very effective impact on the adults' learning processes. Such "biographical portraits" warrant continuity and consistency of one's own life. There is also the danger of their becoming mere illusions of a life, of the retrospective interpretation being separated from the process-structure of living, of "biography" here as well losing its dimension of emergence (cf. Bourdieu's provocative criticism, 1990). Guided Autobiography can no doubt kindle self-examination of specific social life-constructs; it will influence biographical action only indirectly, if at all.

A group of pedagogues from the University of Bielefeld are particularly interested in the level of autobiographical action within an educational project (cf. e.g. Baacke & Schulze, 1979, 1985). They proceed expressly cross-disciplinarily (cf. Baacke & Schulze, 1985, I), but their specific concern is undoubtedly an "educational research in biography". The query seems to be how to redesign and expand valid educational instruments through different forms of autobiographical self-examination and self-interpretation (cf. Baacke & Schulze, 1985:12ff; Schulze, 1985:31ff). Learning is to happen "from stories" (Baacke & Schulze, 1979), for stories are close to actions and events and can transform abstract insights into practical-educational processes (Baacke, 1985:13).

Autobiographical learning in this concrete sense means the discovery of the landscape "biography", hitherto virtually naively embedded in an unquestioned or only temporarily problematic ego-identity: Various levels of experience, peculiarities of the surrounding worlds, breaks and transitions, situations and constellations as the starting points of developments, roads and one-way streets, futuristic designs (cf. Schulze, 1985:42ff in detail). The independence of such an approach lies in biography becoming a multi-layered process and not just an outcome. The aim is primarily not the interpretation of a life's history, but in the first place its reconstruction. It is true that, with regard to method, this concept cannot approximate the level of Guided Autobiography. Its character is rather programmatic; yet it could be an interesting supplement to Birren's approach: The peculiarity of an individual biography is not only the life-history as a specific "thematic structurization" (Thomae, 1968: 329ff), but in the recollectable life-stories.

Such a plea for a "narrative pedagogy" has, of course, also a theoretical background. The by far largest proportion of our actions— as far as they are biographically meaningful— does not dispose of an orientating framework within a biographical range, but of a kind of "*layman's concept of the 'world' in the sense of the everyday- or life-world*" (Habermas, 1981, II:206). This concept does not require higher predicative interpretations, but presupposes that we can place ourselves in specific, social spaces, and that we acknowledge our relationship with the historical times that we live through. Both happen when we revert to our own history with a narrative interest. *"The narrative practice... not only serves the trivial communication of relatives who must coordinate their work, it also has a function in the self-understanding of persons who must objectify their own part in the everyday-world to which they belong in their actual role as communicators. They can form a personal identity only if they realize that the sequence of their own actions is building a narratively presentable life-history; and a social identity only if they realize that they maintain their affiliation to social groups by interacting and by being involved in a narratable history of collectives. Collectives can maintain their identity to the extent only that the representations of the participants' everyday-world overlay sufficiently and are condensed into unproblematic background convictions*" (Habermas, 1981, II:207).

These theoretical considerations ought to have definite consequences for adult education. Apparently the development of personal identity is grounded less in vicarious offerings of an identity than in a personal, narrative recapitulation of autobiographical experience. The point is not a naive and emphatic enhancement of story-telling during biographical learning processes, but the structural importance of narrativity for the clarification of biographical actions: *"From the grammar of stories we can gather how we identify and describe conditions and events as they occur in the everyday-world, how we pull together into complex units and sequentialise the interactions of group members in a social and historical context, how we explain individual actions and the events that happen to them, and how we explain the doings of collectives and the fate they suffer— all from the perspective of coping with situations. In choosing the narrative perspective for a description we are 'grammatically' obliged to use an 'everyday' concept of our life-world as a cognitive reference-system*" (Habermas, 1981, II:207).

This, our very knowledge— intuitive and biographical, a "grammar of story-telling"— is a data-bank with connectives and references to be explicated in the educational process, pending which we begin to understand better not only ourselves, but also the reproductive conditions of our everyday world. We expand our biographical autonomy to act. It would be quite attractive to link these considerations of autobiographical narrativity with the methodical experiences of Guided Autobiography.

3.4 The Historical Approach

The grammar of story-telling "involves" people, as Habermas rightly says, also in the "history of collectives" (1981, II:206). An autobiographical recourse necessarily touches upon the social identity aspect. We do not simply learn from biographical stories just for ourselves and our life-worlds; we gain insights into culture, society, and history.[18] It seems reasonable to discuss in this context those approaches which try to set learning processes in motion with explicit reference to "oral history" (cf. Günther et al., 1985).

Such concepts, however, are not made up of a direct association of learning and life-course, but of an interesting refraction: History is to become more transparent in life-(hi)stories; abstract societal structures in an individual constellation (cf. Alheit, Jung & Wollenberg, 1985:2f). The reason for such a view is mostly a rather didactical argumentation: *"One does not any longer put oneself easily into God's pupil or the World Spirit; it is harder to assume the position of the mighty and to analyse societal problems from above as questions of order, power, or integration. We are beginning to be more interested in ourselves and the heritage on which our living conditions, behaviours, interpretations, and potential actions rest: How have performance standards been imprinted on our body? Which working and property conditions have resulted in which family constellations? Which compelling change in behaviour and thinking has happened by the transition from countryside to township? Which hopes have been destroyed by fascism? This documentation of daily trivialities, of what even the external history can capture only with difficulty and methodical imagination, is inquiring into the subjectivity of those whom we have learned to see as objects of history, into their experiences, their wishes, their power to resist, their creative faculties, their sufferings"* (Niethammer, 1980:9).

Among concepts of this kind, a biography is primarily not a place of learning; biographical experience is converted rather into educational content, and an indirect access is possible through historical or literary biographies, although direct contact— eye-witness accounts, one's own "oral history"— remain characteristic. Here boundaries between political education [B] and "everyday-(hi)stories" (cf. Lüdtke, 1989, in detail), between workers' education and "history from below" (cf. Alheit & Wollenberg, 1982:274ff) become blurred. "Pedagogical biographics" is becoming the medium of social, political, and cultural identity. The danger of "historical approaches" lies not doubt in the problematic distance from the learners' biographical experiences, possibly also in the uncritical formation of traditions and iconography (cf. Alheit &

Dausien, 1990), without, however, diminishing the chance of deepening an essential aspect of autobiographical recollection by an "historical glance"— the insight into one's own fate being meshed with the history of a social culture.

The principle of "Gräv där du star" (dig where you stand)— presented in a highly popular book from the late seventies by the Swedish author Sven Lindqvist (1989)— has led to one of the largest lay education movements in Europe. Sweden alone is said to have by now roughly 10,000 active study circles (cf. Dammeyer, 1989:293f) whose largest share of work is research in oral history. Learners are motivated by the conviction that "history... has begun yesterday" and that they can understand themselves and their lives only if they understand their own history.[19]

There appears to be a valid query concerning similar concepts whether this procedure can at all and meaningfully be called a biography-guided adult education. On the other hand, we could also radically reverse the issue: Can we trace history at all, such as it is usurped or at least superimposed to a large extent by the interpretations of powerful organizations and pressure groups (cf. Benjamin, 1965:83), if we disregard human beings who— although "not always willingly" (Marx/Luxemburg)— have practically speaking "made" the history? Is not a detour around concrete life-stories unavoidable, at least for recent history, if we wish to understand the past? Can we gather the Vietnam-war trauma for the United States' society, or the contradictory experiences of the present-day, 1989-90 "turn" in Germany from official sources? Biography-guided learning processes seem to stimulate not only adult education, but historiography itself.

3.5 The Intercultural Approach

That the clarification of biographical knowledge produces close-knit relationships with societal developments can be concretized in another educational concept. The awareness of migrants' "strangeness" as a social problem or— the other way round— the rediscovery of "ethnicity" as a protection of psychical stability (cf. already Murphy, 1977; Klemm, 1985), have made biographically-guided educational processes unusually popular in the so-called "intercultural pedagogy" (cf. Apitzsch [critical], 1989a, 1990).

The conceptual basis of this approach is, though, as simple as it is problematic. Its core element is a "hypothesis of a modernism-differential" (cf. Bukow & Llaryora, 1988): Migrants spend their lives supposedly in two incompatible "cultures", the culture of origin and the culture of destination. The culture of origin is usually identified as an ideal-type traditional pattern of living with a tinge of folkloristic degeneration. The absorbing culture is unquestionably regarded as "modern" and ruled by universalist-rational values. Focus of one culture is the family, of the other, the job. The obligation to oscillate between the two cultures creates problems of identity and integration, and requires educational assistance. It is of secondary importance whether the postulated aim of intercultural pedagogy is a kind of second, as it were "modern" childhood (cf. [critical] Bukow & Llaryora, 1988:15), or a "*strengthening of fellowship with one's own minority*" (Klemm, 1985:181). The outcome is a "modernization trap" (cf. Apitzsch, 1990:15), where construed ethnical peculiarities are didactically over-stressed for the justification of educational interventions (cf. also Hamburger, 1988). What we are finding here is an interesting parallel to the earlier, critical discussion of the "compensatory approaches".

In construing such modernism-differentials, modernization problems into which migrants can easily get, are indeed being ignored. As a rule, their native cultures are not at all "pre-modern". The decision to migrate often is the result of a critical struggle with modernization processes in their native society itself. The migration process is not a journey from an undestroyed, traditional world to a problemative, modern environment, but a planned process of "individual modernization" (Inkeles, 1984:373ff), clearly guided by the modernizing agencies of schools and industrial plants in the host societies (cf. Apitzsch, 1990:15f). The problem with such a widespread expectation is not only the danger of social disintegration, but the risk of a negative trajectory with considerable dynamics (cf. Alheit, 1984b).[20]

Results of comparable, individual modernization processes are— in positive cases— amazingly unproblematic linkages of rather conventional (family-type) with markedly modern (vocational-type) orientations especially among women; in negative cases they signal the breakdown of biographical planning resources, because even a withdrawal into "ethnicity" is no real way out (cf. Apitzsch, 1989b, in detail). This observation leads to the assumption that biographies of migrants ought "*not to be interpreted culturalistically, in an ethnic context, but to evidence that the difficulties of status passages pervade the multicultural society, that they are a problem of modernizing this society, and that migrant groups do not experience them later but rather sooner and more radically than other groups of the host society*" (Apitzsch, 1990:18).

This example illustrates how problematic normative constructs of biographical life-courses or identities are for an educational concept. For the time being, adult educators are extremely unprepared for accompanying biography-guided, intercultural learning processes. The considerable risks, but also the opportunities of modern migrants' biographies in some sense "anticipate" universalized, societal options in the light of modern biographies as such. They are, therefore, in a positive or negative sense, essential resources for an adult education whose aim is "biographicity" the design and manufacture of individual autonomy to act pending life's progress.

3.6 The Emancipatory Approach

The structural experience of uncertain, biographical time-schedules, of individualization and marginalization is also basic to educational concepts that can reasonably be labelled "emancipatory", because they explicitly champion a change in those basic structures which notoriously hinder the development of biographical possibilities for certain social groups. This is particularly true of biographical approaches in feminist education (cf. summary by Schmeling, 1988). The latter has discovered the female biography as a "political learning area", because the societally suggested "standard biography" has imposed an insight into the structural and life-course-typical inequality of the sexes: the "gender-doing effects" of the education system (cf. Rabe-Kleberg, 1986, 1987, 1988b) and the reinforcement of such effects in the status passages to the gainful-employment system.

As a rule the education system does not equip women— biographically speaking— with the same planning resources as men. They are kept away from any systematic preparation for biographical action strategies and coping performances which are— as it were in passing— part and parcel of the standard inventory of male socialization. Women therefore end up more frequently in "education traps" and are oftener the losers in the modernization process of the "human capital" (cf. Rabe-Kleberg, 1988a, 1988b). The reason for such a structural gap is the basic pattern of a "double socialization" (Becker-Schmidt), namely women's double-bond in gainful employment and family work. This mode of socialization seems to influence— relatively independent of socio-structural characteristics, and with an amazing historical persistency— the "logic" of placement in society, in the workplace, and in society's power structure. Interestingly enough, this "pattern" does not produce, though, any unequivocal results, but a biographic variety of female living conditions (cf. Moen, 1985; Dausien et al., 1990).

We have now gained an as it were "natural" perspective of biography-guided women's education, to which— by the way— Ruhle-Gerstel (1932), had already drawn attention with critical remarks against the bourgeois women's movement. She proved convincingly that *"the point is not self-fulfillment, as though there were in every woman a pre-settled, easily available substance guaranteeing the unity and progress of knowledge. The problem is to be unravelled on another theoretical plan: Differences and limitations ought to be recognized, not dissolved. On the march away from oneself, there are realities to be perceived and confronted which in fact are not near by"* (in Nordmann, 1988:121). Goal and political issue at the same time is to overcome the individual, biographical constellation, is the "march away from oneself". This, of course, tackles nothing less than subjectivism. Women's education could become a new form of interventionist learning, a kind of social movement (cf. Schiersmann, 1983), because resisting unwanted biographical, structural traps will not only change individual life-trajectories, but affect the organization of work and education in society as a whole.

Incidentally, it is perhaps symptomatic that nowadays ideas from feminist contexts are obvious examples of emancipatory educational processes and no more the concepts from traditional social movements.[21] This fact cannot at all be explained by eager concessions to the *zeitgeist*. The characteristics of emancipatory women's education [B] is that biographical experience is the very starting point of educational processes where subjective peculiarities are not only taken seriously, but the "private" enters a politicization process.[22] Collective forms of resistance are not excluded thereby, but expressly intended (cf. Schmeling, 1988:118ff), although they are "new associations" (cf. Alheit et al., 1990, II:913ff) that do not "by nature" convert into collective, social aggregates, but may become a social movement by the conscious and free decision of individuals. The political learning process appears to be changing its face at the same time. Even collective learning must, therefore, start from personal biographies.

Intermediate Resume

The most interesting outcome of having critically screened various approaches to biography-guided adult education is not the contradictory complexity of theoretical references. The most amazing finding is the conceptional range covered by biographically affected educational concepts: The scope of problems extends from individual-therapy interventions to socio-political commitment, from classical subjects of general and socio-cultural adult education to novel questions of vocational and political adult education. Biography-guided adult education can therefore truly be regarded as a kind of "hidden paradigm" that forebodes a latent change in professional dispositions. The following section will try to clarify whether this covert syndrome does require a more consistent framework.

4. "Biographicity" and Modernization: An Adult Education Framework

Bourdieu has written an unusually provocative essay about the "biographical illusion" of a life-history, it being a "perfect social artefact" (1990:80). He turns against the complicity of biographical story-tellers interested in what might be called a "nice story", and researchers seeing themselves as in professional quest of "meaning" (1990:76); the product being very often that "linear" life-history which has nothing to do with reality and, for the rest, is highly "unmodern". Taking Faulkner and Proust as examples, Bourdieu shows that the modern novel has long since taken leave of the rhetorical conventions of narratives, clinging to a biographical identify "*at the price of a massive abstraction*" meaning nothing but the "proper name" (1990:78). Proust's talking of "the Swann of Buckingham Palace" or of "the Albertine of olden times" designates the succession of independent states into which our life could get. Such sequences would not justify, according to Bourdieu, a "life's story", but at the most a "trajectory" in social space "*developing itself continually and subjected to unending transformations*" (1990:80).

Bourdieu's provocation is triply useful for a more precise answer to the suggested question regarding a theoretical framework for a biographically-guided adult education:

(1) It sheds unsentimental light on the social phenomenon of "biography" and induces us to be skeptical of "biography" as a mere construct of meaning.

(2) It confronts us with a poignant sociological point of view and possibly sharpens the eye for an educational-scientific approach to the biographical.

(3) The position taken is in a most stimulating way worth questioning, but for the same reason gives us an opportunity to ponder over biography as a life- and learning-history.

Ad (1): Beneath Bourdieu's farewell to a "biographical illusion", a specific diagnosis of modernism is hidden. It is that kind of scepsis which labels the discontinual experiential reality of the "*nouveau roman*" as well as a collage: Biographies are— at the most— trajectories in social space. It is helpful to clarify the positions taken on the march, but there is, none the less, no coherent history. This attitude has nothing in common with post-modern constructions, is no plea at all for "paralogical" knowledge (cf. Lyotard, 1986:175ff). It is instead radically modern (cf. Liebau, 1990:85), seeing the dissolution of conventions as an opportunity.

There are some other plausible, empirical indications if we consider documents from marginal zones of biographical knowledge: The impressive collection of life-histories from the Piemonte Po Valley, for instance, edited by Revelli under the title of *Il mondo dei vinti* (The World of Losers) (1977), leads us to the limits of conventional biographical rhetoric. Doing away with the euphemism that a "life's story" ought to be a document of a successful social integration, it reminds us of the possibility that understanding the "conditions" people go through may in itself be enlightening. Revelli's remarkable collection renders us sensitive also for the less dramatic consequences of modernism: The "normal" frictions in contemporary women's biographies (cf. Dausien, 1990) the breaks and "traps" while we cross cultural bonds and modernization levels (cf. Apitzsch, 1989a), the shifting "positions in social space" (Mannheim [1928-29], 1964:526.[23] Biographies thus read always are also radical documents of "the individual's sociality" (Apitzsch, 1990:13). They look life "construed individualities", like structures of placements and displacements in social space which can be regarded at a certain point as independent "ensembles of objective relationships" (Bourdieu, 1990:81).

This rigorous view ironizes the educational-therapeutic idea of mendable damages of biographical identity and puts modern biographies relentlessly in their structural context: "*Trying to understand a life as a unique and self-sufficient sequence of events without any other ties than those to a person,..., is almost as absurd as trying to explain a Paris métro-line without taking into account the network, namely the matrix of objective connections between various stops*" (Bourdieu, 1990:80).

Such a structuralistically enlightened, strictly sociological view overstretches, though, the important realization of the biographic's "sociality" and ignores the latent biographicity of the social: Even if in Bourdieu's metaphor the different métro-stops were defined by the network of their connections, the distance from stop to stop must still be covered. Moreover, irrespective of the total network, the special features of a certain sequence of stops will identify a métro-"line". The specific sequence of stops has a logic of its own as well.

Biographies without such a meaning of their own are inconceivable. Even those biographical sequences threatened by incisive modernization processes, like Revelli's "losers" are showing a certain inner consistency and are not simply kept together merely by their proper names, as Bourdieu assumes. Nor can coherence and continuity of biographical self-experience be simply discredited as an "illusion", because the biography-owner cannot freely suspend his biographical knowledge in each new "condition" of the biography; instead he must reactivate it to a certain degree (cf. Alheit & Hoerning, 1989). It is interesting to ask, though, whether such biographies will still be "worth telling" in the future, whether they will reproduce a narratively reconstruable "life-history" (cf. Apitzsch, 1990:18); for the narrative structure of experience is dependent upon the meshing of the history of collectives (see above). If, however, individuals in the process of radical modernization of traditional everyday-worlds are cut off from the resources of experience passed on or unquestionably shared, perhaps a key biographical competency might vanish in the meshings of collective contexts.

Ad (2): Breaks and frictions in modern biographies cannot be denied; and Bourdieu's critique sharpens the eye for this fact. But is it enough to describe contemporary lives, whose biographies undergo unplanned, but visible changes, as a mere series of positions? Is the emergent, potential scope which, even on various positional levels, does indeed exist for all agents meshed with other agents, with influence- and power-structures— even in Bourdieu's understanding— truly to be filled by fading out a biographical perspective, that is without recourse to action resources stemming from earlier, individual experiences of placement and without a conceptualization of positional opportunities which could biographically follow the actual entanglement?

In the preceding considerations both questions have been answered intricately and rather unambiguously in the negative. Bourdieu's "structuralist voyeurism" seems to be— seen from this view— not even sociologically satisfactory. It would be counterproductive for a solution to the problem of an educational-scientific framework. But what could an adult education answer look like if an unreflected return to the "therapeutic paradigm" is barred? What chance is there to understand the owners of contemporary biographies not just as victims of modernization processes, but also as learning individuals discovering fresh potential scope?

We "learn", in the course of modernization processes, to renounce unquestionably accepted everyday security and conventions. This involuntary renunciation no doubt contains the risk of banal forgetting, of a relapse into "pre-conventional" behaviours.[24] Yet there is also a chance of forming "post-conventional" action schemes and with it opening up quite a novel biographical scope.[25] Such a possibility has always accompanied historically preceding modernization processes. It leads to the formation of new social-morality milieux in the constitutive phase of the modern proletariat (cf. Alheit, 1989b), to a class-wide defence against social integration, as it were. But it is also the driving force of that fundamentally "moral-economic" function of the modern welfare state which prevents the complete market-like processing of individual working capacity (cf. Kohli, 1989:272f). And it could well become the foundation for an at present extremely vague option of cooperation (via radical individualization) among endangered people in new association and learning processes. At least three preconditions have to prevail to do this:

(A) The consequences of recent modernization processes must be biographically integrated. The understanding of economic and political power structures intervening in the biographical "trajectories" behind people's back, must become explicit, biographical knowledge, including not only political education, but foremost vocational qualification.[26] The integration of knowledge-forms allegedly "indifferent to meaning" is, in the long run, possible only by reflection on their biographical value.

(B) "Biography" as an everyday-world resource of meaning is, for its own part, dependent upon modernization. A reminder seems appropriate here that biography as a social institution and as an organizing principle of individual life is a product of modernism and no traditional resource of pre-modern forms of living (cf., very early, Elias, 1980, II:336ff), which does not imply that biographical knowledge has never been able to fall back upon inherited stocks of knowledge. On the contrary: Attaching individual, biographical orientations to interaction forms necessary for the reproduction of modern societies possibly presupposes traditional solidarity structures. Capitalist modernism unfolds— contrary to the culturally pessimistic diagnosis of the Frankfurt School— not only as a "colonialization of everyday-worlds", but also in the exploitation, transformation, or even revitalization of traditional ways of living.[27] Individual reproduction strategies are therefore always proportional blends of both conventional and modern ingredients of knowledge. If, however, grown bonds and conventions are becoming fragile, if indubitable resources of meaning and solidarity are vanishing, then a "modernization" of biographical knowledge is also required. Such processes are, historically speaking, quite normal. In fact, we are witnessing the corresponding changes, for instance of the worker's cultural world in Germany, since the end of the nineteenth century (cf. Langewiesche, 1984; Kramer, 1987). Traditions of pre-proletarian, plebeian experiential links are becoming dysfunctional and sink into the ground. New traditions begin to form (cf. Alheit, 1989a). But similar developments can also be found among the modernized solidarity-cultures of recent social movements. They "inherit" the traditions of classical social movements by specific modifications (cf. Touraine, 1983).

(C) Therefore a competence called "biographicity" is necessary: The ability to attach modern stocks of knowledge to biographical resources of meaning and, with this knowledge, to associate oneself afresh. The chance is much better than sceptics predict (cf. e.g. Axmacher, 1990). Let us just imagine the changing status of the most advanced modern forms of knowledge, and we can realize their loss of legitimacy and meaning. Science above all has lost its authority in the course of its pervasiveness across all levels of life. The pluralization of knowledge on offer has absurdly increased and not decreased the users' autonomy (cf. also Beck, 1986:286ff). This is true not only of risky areas like atomic energy or armament policies, it is also true— at least latently—of educational and training courses in general. The right of consumers to call for meaningful offers has informally been implemented. It will be interesting to see whether adult education can take its chance to utilize "modern knowledge" in favour of biographees' autonomy to act,[28] perhaps to convert it into a kind of "counter-knowledge" and to create thereby "new associations" (meaning new communities).

Ad (3): Certainly, this would also contribute to the production of "life-(hi)stories", and they would not at all be just illusionary by reason of expressing the persistence of biographical experience in spite of modernization and social change. Only if we have understood the need for continuity in these discontinuities, can we appreciate the "logic" of historical breaks and discontinuities, of wars, catastrophes, revolutions (cf. Niethammer, 1990:92). We can develop an education-science view only if—countering Bourdieu— we understand the tension between continuity and discontinuity as one of "historical learning". And we must realize— seconding Bourdieu— that in future "(hi)stories" will become more demanding than the narrative reconstructions of the past. We cannot completely rule out that we shall soon have to modify slightly our introductory motto of Kierkegaard's: Life can only be lived if there is a design— it has to be understood "forwards".

Summary: *The purpose of my considerations is to increase the plausibility of the basic assumption that biographical approaches in adult education are no incidental fashion but a "covert syndrome". There are good reasons for talking of a creeping paradigm-change. It comes as a surprise that biographical approaches refer to all practice fields of adult education. It is also interesting to note that the heightened sensitivity for biographical inquiries does not necessarily favour subjectivist and therapy-related concepts, but associates equally with political and vocational adult education.*

Furthermore, the development of an ambitious theoretical framework looks promising. The programmatic concept of "biographicity" suggests a bonded network of everyday-world and "modern" knowledge which could become a foundation for a strategic reorganization of adult education learning processes, a platform where the organized confrontation of modern expert knowledge with everyday knowledge generates a kind of "new counter-knowledge".

A Note on the Author

Peter Alheit is Professor for Non-institutional Adult Education at the University of Bremen. He has studied theology, philosophy, sociology, and pedagogy. His first Ph.D. thesis (1971) was a study in the philosophy of religion, about Max Weber's philosophy of science and ethics. After several years of social science studies at various research institutes he got a second Ph.D. (1977) for theoretical inquiries into everyday knowledge and class consciousness. In addition to intense research of subjects concerning socio-biography, the sociology of knowledge, theories of culture and everyday life— all published in various articles and books— he has devoted his efforts to the practice of adult education in Germany at grassroots and trade union levels, and started up and accompanied several cultural projects. In recent years he has concentrated upon international and comparative adult education and— in conjunction with six other European universities— set up the ERASMUS-programme of European Studies in Adult Education which he coordinates.

His programmatic idea on which his research and practice related projects rest is the conceptual and empirical follow-up of the assumption that implicit (biographical) and other tacit knowledge can be meshed with the most advanced "modern" knowledge of and within sciences and techniques of all kinds, and that the outcome is a change not only in biographical knowledge but also of "expert knowledge". This will explain why he was and is most impressed by Antonio Gramsci's *Quaderni del Carcere* (Prison Notebooks), Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society*, and the idea of the Vienna Circle Encyclopaedia (Otto Neurath's self-willed papers in particular).

Notes

[1] I wish to thank Ursula Apitzsch first of all for essential discussions and suggestions during the preparation of the essay, but also Antonius Scheuermann for extremely careful preliminary work and the critical review of the text.

[2] "Paradigm" is used here in a wider sense of "change in perspective", as a change in the direction of attention within the scientific community, and not in Kuhn's more restricted meaning.

[3] It is certainly symptomatic that Kohli's "Institution Thesis" originally drew almost exclusively from social history back-up material to male working-life biographies (cf. Kohli, 1983). The idea that "modern" female biographies are rightaway structured in a specifically different way, that the historically speaking amazingly recent process of "biographicization" is perhaps reaching women much later than males, has a range of empirical findings on its side (cf. e.g. Dausien et al, 1990).

[4] In this context a plausible objection of Kade's (1990) is relevant: Recent modernization processes do not merit cultural-pessimistic distancing only, but also the appropriation of their hidden potential. Kade's assessment, though, of successful intervention in adult education as a "driving force of individualization" appears to be a trifle over-optimistic (cf. Kade, 1990:796ff, and the remarks in Part 4).

[5] Some initial qualifications are necessary here: The following section does not provide a poised comparison of the biographical concept's effectiveness with competing constructs like "identity", "development" or "socialization"; it tries instead to point up the theoretical and strategic peculiarities of the biography concept.

[6] This basic "dialectics" evidently reflects only part of the dynamics unfolding within the social phenomenon of "biography". The objective, structural foils vary more

than the notion of an "object perspective" suggests. They refer to genetical, structural conditions within a person, as well as to societal patterns that structure biographical progressions (cf. Part 4 for more details).

[7] Certainly, the revision never involves the total edifice of biographical knowledge. The so-called "foundational elements" of knowledge or the "habitual" knowledge are more or less stable components; form of knowledge with a high degree of "habituality" cannot simply be erased either (cf. Schütz & Luckmann, 1979, I:178ff).

[8] We can compare comparable structures with a kind of "grammar of biographical actions". Each single action may deviate, but in the medium term the biographical agent has to follow such patterns within certain bounds of alternative decisions. Bourdieu's concept of the "habitus" as an "*active principle of unifying practices and representations*" seems, by the way, to vary this thought (1990:77).

[9] The question is, whether in this case the "institutional" model is at all accurate enough, or whether Elder's "transition" concept would capture present-day change more adequately (cf. Elder, 1985).

[10] In the area of macro-sociology the thesis still sounds extremely speculative. The "*structuredness of social inequality— the effectiveness of strata, class, ethnical affiliation, sex, etc.— is not markedly in retreat*" (Kohli, 1989:266). The changes in the micro-sociological area, however, are undeniable.

[11] This differentiation is certainly not random, and the labels chosen have a high affinity to the self-predication of the different approaches, yet its intention is systematic, its exposition follows a certain "dramaturgy", claiming neither completeness nor excluding contrasting systematics.

[12] It is nevertheless surprising that Loch hardly ever refers to the genetic structuralism.

[13] Reference particularly to Kohlberg's studies (cf. Lempert, 1990; Hoff, 1990; and many others) would here be highly interesting for a biography-guided adult education.

[14] A more social science orientated variant of the problem, interpreting adult education as it were as a critical life-event, examining the biographical consequences of the event, can be found among the analyses of Buschmeyer et al., and Kade. Even there a constant relation between "biography" and "adult education" does not come up, since the theoretical, guiding paradigm is not "biography", but rather "identity" (cf. Buschmeyer et al., 1985:20ff; Kade, 1989:21ff). An opportunity is thus missed of empirically tracking "individuality" in the process of its (structured) emergence and change. In addition, the specific adult education use of biographical material— after all, one of the study's desiderata— is reduced to quasi participant-orientated "mock-options": It is only during a process of critical examination of oneself and others that something like identity and subjectivity are formed. This means that the educative content of educational processes can only be extracted once the participants' "*life-*

historical horizon of meanings has been unfolded" (Buschmeyer et al., 1985:98; and also Nuissl, 1989, sharp criticism of Kade, 1989). There could scarcely be a more meaningful paraphrase of Kierkegaard's motto: "Apparently you can educate people only if it is evident that they are 'educated'". It is undoubtedly not only Kierkegaard's ironical objection, but also methodological scruples which justify the remark that— while meanings are being dug out and "interpreted vicariously" (cf. the following critique)— the educational processes themselves have long continued on their own ("in the meantime (life) has to be lived forwards").

[15] This objection cannot be invalidated by a reference to fundamental, theoretical findings of "structural hermeneutics" maintaining that the hermeneutical scholar has access to "latent structures of meaning" inaccessible to the ordinary agent in society. Without offering here any elaborate critique of Oevermann's hermeneutics (cf. already Alheit, 1984a, II:42ff), some short remarks seem appropriate: The vicarious interpreter cannot, in principle, run away from implicit, valid demands or aporias of insecure social agents either, if his own interpretations are to be plausible (cf. Habermas, 1981, I:167ff). He, too, fails to interact "meta-communicatively". He is himself entangled in the objectively constituted meaningful problems of his "client".

[16] Birren's concept, from his research on aging (cf. Schroots & Birren, 1988), refers to a new, expanding field of inquiry into adult education, the subject of aging and learning which will doubtless reinforce the trend towards a biographical orientation of subjects and methods (cf. Mader, 1987, 1990).

[17] Once again it is important to note that the themes are not just random, but "existential". Aging, sexuality, death, and so on, are unavoidable questions which we have to come to terms with autobiographically (cf. Mader, 1987:13ff, in detail).

[18] Compare the methodological relevance of "narrativity" it has for historiography since Danto's remarkable *Analytical Philosophy of History* (cf. Rossi, 1987, in detail).

[19] An educational motif that ought to be highly topical in post-Fascist and post-Stalinist Germany.

[20] Exactly this biographical dilemma could become a "trap" for members of the second and third generation of migrants, because they set higher hopes on educational and vocational careers than the first generation. An unproblematic return to their ethnic fold is barred (cf. the interesting research outcomes regarding the "learning-biographies" of female members of successive generations in Apitzsch, 1989b, 1990).

[21] This is not to say that a biographical orientation has no place, for instance, in the unions' educational courses. On the contrary: The formation of "new cultural models", among the younger workforce in particular, (cf. Zoll et al., 1989) will possibly spill over into educational concepts more sensitive towards life-courses

taking up and expanding the ideas of the "experiential approach" in workers' education, theoretically elaborated by Negt (1971; cf. chapters in this volume by Holzapfel and Thomssen; also Alheit & Wollenberg, 1982). Nobody will maintain, however, that the impetus for an increased awareness of biographical studies as a political topic for educational efforts has come from today's labour and union movement. In this case the women's movement is undeniably both the protagonist and standard-bearer.

[22] The prominent feminist slogan "The private realm is political!" also refers to the acknowledgement that societal power structures and their reproduction conditions do not leave privacy untouched. Socially most affected are, however, women (cf. Schmeling, 1988:71ff).

[23] This unusually modern phrase, coined by Mannheim in his classical essay on "The Problem of Generations" (1928), suitably describes the complex relationship of individual, biographical uniqueness and the changing influences of the social space (class, sex, generation, etc.).

[24] The highly interesting outcomes of a longitudinal study by Hoff, Lappe, and Lempert on the ethical relevance of occupational behaviour are instructive: The knowledge gained on the basis of Kohlberg's "morals concept" definitely point to such a "risk of relapsing", dropping back to pre-conventional ethical milieux via the influence of the modernization agency "industrial enterprise". But it also points up the possibility of countervailing developmental processes (cf. Lempert, 1990, as a representative author).

[25] Such processes can be observed empirically, for instance in the transformation of unidirectional (therefore heteronomous) process structures into action-scheme (therefore autonomous) process structures of a life's course (cf. Schütze, 1984): Examples are the ending of a drug career enabling a biographically, self-determined fresh start after a cathartic breakdown; or the transition from a long-term redundancy to a new retraining process.

[26] In this context the critical remarks of Axmacher's, concerning the function of what he calls— based upon Weber— "expert knowledge" are quite relevant (1990:28ff). Whether his sharply contrasting expert and everyday knowledge is plausible, is, however, doubtful. Lempert et al.'s long-term studies indicate how the knitting of expert and everyday knowledge components does affect the individual's ethical faculty of judgement (cf. once again Lempert, 1990:4ff).

[27] A performance which probably explains the strategic lead in the control of complex economies and administrations as opposed to strict and inflexible modernization models (such as the "real socialist" societies), but on the other hand is also responsible for the fatal modernization strategies of fascist systems.

[28] This observation by itself is often stimulating enough to reproduce that attitude of contemporary adult education rightfully caricatured by Axmacher in his critical

contribution to the "life-world orientation": "*Authentic, encouraging, charismatic, dynamic, emphatic, feminine, holistic, hedonistic, interactive, creative, pleasure-seeking, communicative, normative, optimistic, participative, rhetorical, spiritual, team-orientated, visionary, truthful, forward-looking: Feeling good, working better (afterwards), having understood nothing at all*" (1990:30).

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Appendix

Ausbildung, Fortbildung, Weiterbildung

Martin G. Haindorff

> *Education is not a product: mark, diploma, job, money – in that order; it is a process, a never-ending one.*
>
> *Bel Kaufman, TV interview, 1967*

1. Ausbildung

In Germany any kind of *Berufsausbilung* (vocational training) — this is the full title— leading to a well-defined final examination entitling one to enter thousands of specific "certified" jobs and careers (*Lehrberufe*) is *Ausbildung*, assured by standardized contracts (*Lehrvertrag*) commonly called *Lehre* (apprenticeship) which are recognized by the state and registered with the local or regional Chambers of Commerce and Industry. They are staged (first, second, third, fourth year) and usually cover periods from a minimum of two (salesman in department store) to three-and-a-half years, the typical commercial apprenticeship running for two-and-a-half years and the craft or industrial apprenticeship for three. Stages often cover three to six months in one department or area. The apprentice is required to attend vocational school where final tests are written. An oral examination is held on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. A Certificate of Apprenticeship (*Gehilfenbrief*) or (*Gesellenbrief*) is handed out entitling the owner to set up business and train apprentices. The system is always a dual-track apprenticeship. It goes beyond the American job-induction training— although it includes the same practical procedures of telling, showing, doing, reviewing— in that it always requires trainees to acquire the basic competences of

- *vocational core knowledge* regarded as basic to all careers (commercial arithmetic, accountancy, commercial law, commercial correspondence);
- *functional knowledge and skills* regarded as indispensable for a vocation (encompassing *various* jobs like administrative procedures, or wage and salary administration and records, buying, selling);

- *practitioner knowledge and skills* (knowing *how* to do it) dictated by immediate job requirements (such as the assembly of components, packing, forwarding, or consolidating consignments, etc.).

As regards higher education, any basic, first-time *university or college training*—usually eight semesters or more—concluding with a diploma, master's degree or a state examination (*Diplom-*, *Magister-*, or *Staatsprüfung*) is *always regarded as Ausbildung for a professional career* according to two famous Federal Supreme Fiscal Court decisions (Bundesfinanzhof 1967, 1973), referring to tax-deductibility and pensions computation, the issue being the boundaries between *Ausbildung*, *Fortbildung*, and *Weiterbildung*.

The lowest level of state-recognized training is an *Anlernberuf* (semi-skilled training for a smaller range of duties like lawyer's office assistant), usually for two years only, but also quite thorough, with a final examination.

2. Fortbildung

Vocational and/or professional further training is a one-stage course of variable length providing additional specialist knowledge and skills in one specific area (e.g. from engineer to efficiency engineer, from accountant to chartered accountant, or post-academic professional training for medical specialists). The certification is job-related. If it is a long-term strategy and commitment, the best name for it would be *vocational* (or *professional*) *development*, where the accent is more on training than on education. University departments often call it *continuing professional education*.

Fortbildung is always purposeful, systematic, and more extrinsically motivated.[1] It is usually part of a long-term internal career pattern, for example in the fiscal administration (IRS in the U.S.). Practitioners often use *Fort-* and *Weiterbildung* interchangeably. According to the aim of such courses an administrative distinction is made between

- *Anpassungsfortbildung* (adaptation training to *keep* the job) and
- *Aufstiegsfortbildung* (career training to *advance* in the job).

3. Weiterbildung

Continuing education, the literal equivalent to the German term, is any person-related education after a first training, usually without examination, the certificate not entitling to any career-advancement or different job. *Weiterbildung* is purposeful, but usually less systematic than *Fortbildung*. It is more intrinsically motivated.[2]

Continuing education is often regarded as synonymous with *further education*, has in fact gained the upperhand as a label. There is, for instance, the title of a "Director of Adult and Continuing Education" (University of Durham). One definition of continuing education is "*the post-initial stage* [of education], *i.e. after a substantial break from initial education*" (Himmelstrup, Robinson & Fielden, 1981:6).

Continuous education is any "*systematic learning closely based on everyday work*"

(Himmelstrup, Robinson & Fielden, 1981:6). The work itself is the basis for an educational programme. Self-education on the job (in addition to training on the job)?

Adult education includes *"all systematic learning provisions for adults, other than full-time higher education"* (Himmelstrup, Robinson & Fielden, 1981:6). This term will probably survive as the general concept of all post-school, post-secondary, post-university education, as will the German *Erwachsenenbildung*.

Recurrent education is *"a strategy of provision that makes these recurrent opportunities* [of lifelong learning] *possible"* (Himmelstrup, Robinson & Fielden, 1981:6). The odd idea behind this label is that—according to the OECD Paris designers (criticized for other reasons by G. van Enckevort, in 1979)—the aim of such long-term innovation programmes could be achieved *"by the introduction of a more or less compulsory period of work during one or two years directly after the period of compulsory education (at the age of 16 or 17 years)"*, and, of course, *"a close co-ordination with supporting social, cultural, and labour market policies"* (van Enckevort, 1979:43-44). This is not far from also making co-ordination and policies compulsory. It is the good old idea of planning and the question of "freedom under planning" along with it (Friedrich von Hayek versus Barbara Wootton). This game is up.

And then there are combinations. One contribution to the Esbjerg seminar is called: "Continuous education as recurrent education: A new approach to teaching adults at a distance" (Bock, Cohen & Tribus, 1981:76). You may also come across *"concurrent" education*.

As Jindra Kulich has pointed out (1987:170), the interchangeability of terms, this "babel", is perhaps most marked in the English-language literature. I presume the German language is a good runner-up, with *Berufsbildungswerke*, *Berufsfortbildung*, *Bildungsvereine*. And then there are *Anstalten* (public institutions): *Bildungsanstalten* or *Lehranstalten* (educational institutions), *Bedürfnis-anstalten* (small institutions to deal with needs: public lavatories).

Notes

[1] *Extrinsic motivation* is a concept corresponding to one group of Atkinson's dichotomy, the "expectancy x value theorists" (Tolman, Lewin, Atkinson, Rotter, Vroom, Peak). Motivation is an unfortunate term for this view.

[2] *Intrinsic motivation* is the second basic concept corresponding to the other group of "drive x habit theorists" (Hull, Spence, e.g.). This is the classical, philosophical view: Motivation is causality seen from inside or "*principium rationis sufficientis agendi*" (Schopenhauer, 1813: §43)

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Bremen's Legislation on Continuing Education and its Historical Background since 1970

Martin G. Haindorff

Education and training is a matter for the regional states (***Bundesländer)***, the Federal Government being constitutionally restricted to setting the overall norms and standards. Bremen, one of the three hanseatic city-states, had made education and adult education part of its constitution (October 21, 1947), soon after the beginning of post-war recovery under U.S. Military Government, granting

- *an equal right to general education* [B] *for everybody according to his talent. This right will be ensured by public institutions* (Article 27)
- *All adults shall have the opportunity to continue their education in public institutions* (Article 35).

The legal side of continuing education was enacted differently, but in great detail and with much consensus, in each of the then nine German ***Bundesländer*** after

(a) the German Education Council had submitted demands and requirements of a general plan for supraregional structures of education and institutions (*Strukturplan*, February 13, 1970),

(b) the Federal Government had published its Report on Education (***Bildungsbericht 1970)***,

(c) a Federal/Regional Inter-State Committee for Educatinal Planning had given its interim report *(Zwischenbericht der Bund-Länder-Kommission*, October 18, 1971), and

(d) a Standing Committee of The Conference of Ministers of Culture and Education had offered recommendations. (Second Recommendation of the *Kultusministerkonferenz*, March 4, 1971).

The consensus was that all educational areas (schools, colleges, polytechnics, vocational training, continuing education) ought to be seen as mutually complementary forms in the overall process of education. Continuing education was now becoming a public task to be enacted by the *Länder*-parliaments. The *Strukturplan* understood (a) vocational further training, (b) retraining, and (c) adult education to be an interconnected unity and proposed the name of *Weiterbildung* (continuing education) for it, the underlying reason being that the three areas should be concerned with the requirement of widening the learner's horizon beyond merely *occupational* skills and knowledge.

I. The *Land Bremen*, with its 684,500 inhabitants in January 1991—comprising the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the maritime city of Bremerhaven—passed a short, four- page parliamentary act with thirteen sections on March 26, 1974: *Gesetz über Weiterbildung im Lande Bremen* (Law on Continuing Education in *Land* Bremen) defining the scope, intentions, and tasks as follows (substantial excerpts):

(1) Continuing education as herein understood must be an integrated part of the education system (§1).

Its task is to fulfill individual and societal educational requirements in the form of organized learning after the termination of the obligatory full-time schooling [ten years in Germany, M.H.]. The law does not cover further schooling of college and university attendance (§1).

(2) The purpose of continuing education is to enable everybody

(2.1) to deal critically with social and cultural experiences, knowledge, and ideas for a comprehension and change of societal reality and his or her position in it;

(2.2) to evaluate, maintain, improve, or change occupational qualifications in their socio-political importance;

(2.3) to participate more effectively and self-reliantly (*widerstandsfähiger)* in public life towards the implementation of the Basic Constitutional Law;

(2.4) to learn ways of behaviour for the control and overcoming of societal conflicts whose causes have been recognized; and

(2.5) to reduce inequalities which have arisen and still are arising from social origin, from societal developments, and from eductional process (§1).

Institutions are required to work cooperatively towards the integration of political, vocational, and general education (§4:2-3), irrespective of educational background, of social, political, vocational, or ideological (*weltanschauliche)* affiliation (§ 1:3).

Continuing education institutions can benefit from this law provided that they are non-profit organizations in the public interest. They must be state-recognized (§3:4-6).

Funding is available up to 100 per cent, covering personnel overheads of full-time educators and administrators within the limits of the Bremen budget, according to guidelines for staffing, assessment, financial standing of institutions, and the course fees taken (§7).

II. According to the Federal Industrial Relations Act (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*, 1972: §21, §37) members of Work Councils (all elected by the workforce as their representatives) are entitled to four weeks *additional paid leave* (in addition to the ordinary, paid annual vacation) for relevant "recognized" functional training and education during their first term of office, and three weeks during subsequent terms (a term of office being three years). This Federal Act is best known internationally for its regulation of the scope and limits of co-determination on company matters. Many of its provisions will be copied and integrated in the future laws of the European Community.

III. A supplementary law covering *paid educational leave* was passed in *Land* Bremen on December 18, 1974 (*Bremisches Bildungsurlaubsgesetz*). It entitles every employed person to ten days of paid educational leave within two consecutive years (§3). The course must be officially recognized and comprise a minimum of five days (exceptionally three). Course participants can apply for individual and additional grants in case of special need (§12).

University of Bremen: Requirements, Courses, Examination Regulations

Martin G. Haindorff

I. Introductory Remarks Concerning the Organization of Studies at the University of Bremen:

In Bremen, any student enrolling for *any* degree has to elect either (a) two principal fields of study (majors) (*Hauptfächer*) or (b) one major and two minor fields of study (*Nebenfächer*). In some departments it is possible to elect (c) one major, one minor, and two study elements (*Studienelemente*). The workload and number of certificates required is fairly equal, whatever combination is chosen from a list of options handed out to the student with enrolment forms. The student is usually obliged to state his second field of study when registering for the second semester of study. The second field (or study elements) can be changed until the foundation study is completed. Later changes require special permission. This procedure is fairly universal among German state universities (which represent about ninety-five per cent of all universities). The German winter semester runs from mid-October to the beginning of February; the summer semester from the beginning of April to the beginning of July.

A notable difference of university studies in Germany to many other countries is the fact that (1) with very few exceptions there is no required class attendance and no required reading; everything is (highly) "recommended". Students design their own schedule and workload ("academic freedom"). (2) There are no tuition fees whatsoever. (3) Students pay a small contribution to their welfare association (*Studentenwerk*) and official representation (*Studentenausschuß*) (DM 55 — $30 per semester in 1991). (4) Full health (medical) insurance is compulsory and very cheap (special rate). (5) Financial assistance is guaranteed by the Federal Training Assistance Act (BAFöG) and granted to all German first-time students according to their needs (50 per cent to be repaid). The only requirement is the student's compliance with formal regulations (as outlined in section IV with regard to Bremen).

II. Department Twelve: Sciences of Education and Society

Department Twelve, under the overall title of Sciences of Education and Society (*Erziehungs- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften*), comprises four independent subdepartments with their own administration and five state-recognized study programmes. The first two study programmes (1a, 1b) share the same staff and are part of one subdepartment:

(1a) *Diplom-Erziehungswissenschaft* (Graduate Diploma in Education): (12 professors on the regular staff, ten occasional faculty from other departments such as physical science, psychology, history, etc., and two lecturers).

(1b) *Erziehungs- und Gesellschaftswissenschaft* (Sciences of Education and Society): (teacher training). This programme is the first part of teacher training in Bremen — with a state examination (first *Lehramtsprüfung*) followed by a supervised eighteen-months training (*Referendariat*) in a school and the second state examination.

(2) *Primarstufe der Lehrerbildung* (Elementary School Teacher Education): (three professors, three occasional faculty from history, physical science, and educational science, and four lecturers). This programme is for primary (or elementary) school teachers only (state examination).

(3) *Sozialpädagogik* (Social Pedagogy): (11 professors).

(4) *Weiterbildung* (Department of Adult Education): (twelve professors, two academic lecturers). This is the (sub)department now described in detail.

III. Course Requirements and Student Enrolment

The grand total of recent student enrolment at the University of Bremen was 14,357 (winter semester 1990/1991). The Department of Adult Education figures are given in brackets in addition to programme and course details:

(1) Full course (*Diplom-Pädagoge*): Admission requires the usual final leaving Erganzungsstudiuexamination after twelve or thirteen years of grammar (or secondary) school (*Reifeprüfung*, commonly called "*Abitur*"). Female 213, male 92. (SS 1988: 251).

(2) Supplementary study course (*Zusatzstudium*, also called *Ergänzungsstudium* at other universities), two semesters full-time study (A) with eight hours a week or four semesters part-time (B), four hours a week. Course A: Female 25, male 30; Course B: Female 112, male 67. (SS 1988: 260). Admission requires a college/polytechnic degree (*Fachhochschule*), or two-year full-time employment in adult education, or two-year part-time employment in adult education and additional knowledge (such as obtained from "contact studies").

(3) Contact study course (*Kontaktstudium*): two semesters, evening classes throughout. One weekly session of four hours: 25 students (SS 1988: 39). Admission requires a full-time or part-time job in any educational field, such as teaching assistant, course leader, trainer, etc. The successful completion of the *Kontaktstudium* enables students to pass on to the *Zusatzstudium*.

IV. Subjects and Certificates

A substantial extract of the subjects and certificates required follows for the ten semester (major) course in Adult Education [AE] and the degree of *Diplom-Pädagoge* or *-Pädagogin* as authorized by the *Land* Bremen on November 14, 1986 and published in the *Official Gazette*, No. 71 on December 4, 1986: 553-58.

(1) The programme requires a minimum of nine semesters. It is subdivided into a four-semester foundation study (*Grundstudium*) leading to an intermediate diploma (*Vordiplom*), and a five-semester advanced study. The advanced study includes a three-semester project with one semester of practical training in the middle. An additional semester (six months) is required for writing and delivering the thesis (§2) which may or may not be connected with the project.

(2) Formal, marked certificates (*Leistungsnachweise*) are required and will be granted for the following range of achievements (in writing) chosen and agreed upon (§4):

- Scholarly paper (*Referat*)
- Report on specific literature (*Literaturbericht*)
- Documentation (with comments) (*Dokumentation*)
- Working paper (*Arbeitsbericht*)
- Field study (*Feldstudie*)
- Final, consolidated project report (*Projekt-Abschlußbericht*)
- Trainee's report on practical training (*Praxisbericht*)

The student may opt for an oral examination (*Prüfungsgespräch*) in selected subjects in lieu of an achievement certificate (*Leistungsnachweis*) (§4.5).

(3) Ordinary certificates (§5) for regular, successful participation — no marks (grades) required — will be granted for:

- session minutes (with queries raised) (*Protokoll*)
- short papers (outline or discussion of subject) (*Kurzreferat*)
- a list of statements, premisses, etc. presented (*Thesenpapier*)
- active help in preparing a session (*Betreuung*).

A. Required Foundation Courses and Certificates (§3.1)

(1) Adult Education:

- Introduction to AE as a filed of study, as a discipline, as an educational area, as a vocational/professional activity (*one* certificate of successful participation).

- Theories and the history of AE (first course) (*one* achievement certificate).

(2) Educational and social science courses with an accent on AE (three achievement certificates and one certificate of successful participation, one for each course):

- Education science (*Erziehungswissenschaft*)
- Psychology
- Sociology and/or political economy (economics)
- Empirical research methods (first course).

(3) A second field of studies taken from a list of recognized options, all of which are teacher training subjects (senior years of secondary modern or *gymnasium*, §3.1.3). A total of seven certificates is required up to the final examination and *Diplom*, three of which must be in foundations (§7.6).

B. Advanced Study and Certificates (§3.2)

(1) *Adult Education: One* achievement certificate and *two* certificates of successful participation, one for each course:

- Theories and history of AE (second course)
- Didactics of AE
- Organization, law, economics, politics/policies for AE.

(2) *Educational and social science courses with an accent on AE (II): Two* achievement certificates, *one* report, *one* certificate of successful participation; empirical methods must be used:

(a)
- Education science (pedagogy)
- Psychology
- Social and/or political economy (economics)
- Empirical research methods (second course).

(b) A recognized project (covering a minimum of three semesters) with an integrated, full-time practical training of six months, requiring the trainee's report (*Praxisbericht*) to be assessed as the equivalent of an achievement certificate. The practical training on the job should enable the student to acquire the knowledge and skills for essential tasks of an educational occupation. A contract is signed between the parties concerned to assure this aim. An official university adviser (*Praxisberauftragter*) is appointed to assure assistance, supervision, and appraisal of practical training within and outside the project. Adequate time is to be provided (usually one working-day university-session per week) for an accompanying appraisal of the project's progress. (The current Bremen practice is a plenary session of four hours once a week, some fifteen trainees and two professors being present. Peer counselling (tutoring) and discussion is encouraged.)

(3) In the *second field of studies* — already elected before the beginning of the second semester of the foundation courses — four certificates are required: Either three plus one, or two plus two (depending upon the number and kind obtained during the foundations phase).

C. Graduation Requirements

- the submission of all certificates obtained in accordance with the foregoing prerequisites (§7);
- an oral examination of usually one hour in AE and the second field of studies chosen; the subjects are selected beforehand and mutually agreed upon. A minimum of one subject is to be taken from (a) adult education, and (b) educational and social science(s) (§9);
- a thesis based upon scholarly, scientific approaches, queries and questions referring to the study of AE. As an exception the thesis may refer to a subject predominantly referring to the second field of study (§10).

The overall graduation mark or grade (§11) is computed as follows:

- Achievement certificates (from advanced studies): 30 per cent
- Oral examinations 15 per cent (each)
- Thesis: 40 per cent

The *Diplom* conferring the title of *Diplom-Pädagoge* or *-Pädagogin*, will evidence the overall grade, the thesis and its evaluation, the examinations and achievements that went into the overall grade, and the competency attained in the second field of study (§12). The list of second fields of studies (electives) is limited to

> physical sciences, biology, chemistry, mathematics, history, geography, politics/civics, religion, religious education, sports, English, French, German, German as a foreign language, arts, music, ergonomics and various application fields (textiles, home economics, etc.), electrical engineering, metal engineering, industrial economics, social sciences, social pedagogy,

so that any combination of AE and such an elective will enjoy equal status in the teaching profession. Students majoring in other departments, such as psychology, sociology, etc., cannot elect AE; nor can master's degree students choose AE as a second, major or minor field of study (*Hauptfach* or *Nebenfach*) (this possibility is in the offing, with a master's degree in adult education envisioned). Education science (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) is accepted as a minor. Pedagogy as an experiential science (*Pädagogik als Erfahrungswissenschaft*) and fundamentals of educational activities (*Grundlagen pädagogischen Handelns*) are study elements.

V. The Teaching Staff and Research

The number of full-time professors (chairs) across all branches within the field of pedagogics/education science in West Germany, before unification in 1989, was (Lenhardt, 1990:199-205):

- 1966: 196
- 1977: 925
- 1980: 1,100 (A cut of about ten per cent happened between 1980 and 1987).
- 1987: 1,012

An equal number of full-time academic lecturers (1,108 in 1987) has to be added. The distribution among the main disciplines and special teaching fields was:

• Didacticians, school teacher training	30 per cent
• General and Historical Pedagogics	25 per cent
• Special schools (e.g. for the handicapped)	13 per cent
• Social Pedagogics	8 per cent.

Adult education is an "also ran." In fact, within the total field of pedagogics/education science, very few professors are full-time educators. Most universities do not keep this field apart, statistically speaking. Very often they cannot tell the number of students and give estimates in answer to regular, approximately biannual surveys (cf. *Materialien*, 1990). The total number of West German universities and colleges offering adult education as a major or minor was 33 (in 1989), out of some 94 universities and colleges (including polytechnics and teacher training colleges).

The University of Bremen has the largest full-time staff and the widest choice of subjects of any department of adult education in the united Germany of 1991.

VI. Doctoral and Habilitation Dissertations

The table of doctoral dissertations (*Dr. phil.*) and second theses (*Habilitationen*) for 1980-1988 reflects the interests and shifts in the sub-categories or branches of education. The table was derived from the general framework adopted by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* (DGfE). Each sub-category (except item fourteen, the unclassifiable ones) has its own standing committee (Lenhardt, 1990:204). Item three is the relevant one in our context.

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Table 1
Doctoral and Habilitation Dissertations 1980-1988

	1980 %	1981 %	1982 %	1983 %	1984 %	1985 %	1986 %	1987 %	1988 %
1. General science of education (including: empirical educational research, pure research, educational philosophy, pedagogy and psychoanalysis)	19.9	22.6	13.8	27.3	19.0	21.1	25.7	27.1	27.4
2. Vocational and industrial education	8.8	5.0	4.6	4.9	2.6	6.3	7.2	8.2	9.8
3. Adult education	5.1	5.9	13.4	4.9	4.8	4.2	2.4	3.5	2.8
4. Women's research in education	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.5	1.7	1.2	2.0	1.1
5. Leisure education	0	0.5	1.4	0.4	1.1	1.3	0.8	0.8	0
6. Peace education	0.5	0.9	2.3	0.4	0	0	0	0.8	0.7
7. History of education	9.7	7.2	8.8	12.5	9.5	5.1	5.2	5.9	9.5
8. Early childhood education	1.9	2.7	1.4	1.1	0.5	1.3	1.2	2.0	1.1
9. Special education	5.6	5.9	3.2	3.8	7.4	6.3	5.2	4.7	3.9
10. Physical education	1.9	1.8	1.8	2.3	2.6	1.7	3.2	3.5	0.7
11. Social education	10.2	13.6	13.4	14.8	23.8	21.5	23.3	21.6	23.2
12. School education (including: teacher education, didactics and higher education didactics)	21.3	27.6	26.7	20.1	18.5	23.6	16.9	12.5	14.7
13. Comparative education (including: educational research for and with the Third World)	9.3	4.5	5.1	4.2	4.8	3.4	5.2	5.5	4.2
14. Cumulative habilitation (unclassifiable)	4.6	0.9	3.2	2.7	4.8	2.5	2.4	2.0	1.1

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